

NATIONAL CULINARY CAPITAL

HOW THE STATE AND TV

SHAPE THE 'TASTE OF THE NATION'

TO CREATE DISTINCTION

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ABSTRACT

This interdisciplinary thesis breaks new ground in the fields of food and media studies, in the specific areas of culinary capital and food TV. On food studies, this thesis theorises that the state plays the role of meta-tastemaker, legitimising some foods as a source of social distinction in order to support national ideologies and beliefs. The social prestige that citizens accumulate thanks to these foods is what this thesis defines as national culinary capital.

On media studies, this thesis analyses how national culinary capital is represented on television, and how the media and the nation negotiate it. Only by merging the two disciplines has this thesis been able to catch the sense of the complex power relationships between the nation and the media.

Through the analysis of two national TV food travelogues, the Italian *Ti Ci Porto Io* and the British *Jamie's Great Britain*, this work draws on Bourdieu's concepts of statist and cultural capital, and on Naccarato and LeBesco's theorisation of culinary capital. Cultural studies views of national culture and television, and theories on nation-building contribute to the theoretical framework.

Methodologically, this study applies political economy and Bourdieu's field analysis to Italian and British TV and food TV, and to the broadcasters and production companies of the shows. In addition, moving image and semiotic analysis of the travelogues clarify how the two shows represent national culinary capital. An interview with the Italian producer, and a failed interview with the British one shed further light on the national ideologies represented by the shows and linked to food.

The results show how, in the two countries, national culinary capital supports different ideologies with similar aims. Moreover, while in Italy the state exerts its power over the media in a stronger way, in Britain the media prove to be powerful enough to shape an independent form of national culinary capital, embodied by the media invention of the celebrity chef.

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Articles

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BUSCEMI, F., 2014a. From killing cows to culturing meat. *British Food Journal*. Vol. 116, no. 6, pp. 952-964.

BUSCEMI, F., 2014b. Television as a trattoria: constructing the woman in the kitchen on Italian food shows. *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 304-318.

BUSCEMI, F., 2014c. Jamie Oliver and the gastrodiploacy of simulacra. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, special issue Gastrodiploacy, winter, pp. 46-50.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis makes a new contribution to both the fields of food and media studies. For food studies, the new contribution concerns the theorisation of a specific form of culinary capital that draws upon the nation, which I term 'national culinary capital'. Culinary capital refers to the social assets that one acquires thanks to his/her knowledge and cultural abilities relating to food. It confers social prestige and power (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). This work focuses on forms of culinary capital that relate to national ideologies. Bourdieu et al. (1994) argue that the state holds a powerful meta-capital, through which it influences other fields. I analyse how, through its meta-capital, the state contributes to shaping national culinary capital, in order to support itself.

This clearly does not mean that members of the state decide what foods citizens must eat or watch on TV. The influence, instead, has to do with hegemony, which is a form of soft power (Gramsci 1964), and with national ideologies, which “are part of the state's strategy to maintain its existing hegemonic order” (Kosasa 2008, p.212). Trends in culinary capital are often suggested by food experts, journalists, celebrity chefs, food shows, food guides and so on. They are called 'tastemakers' and legitimise or delegitimise foods and tastes. I focus on how tastemakers are hegemonically influenced by national ideologies and legitimise foods and foodways supporting the nation. When this happens, I argue that the state, by exerting the power of its meta-capital, becomes a meta-tastemaker. I demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7 that the state influences the taste put forward by the analysed shows through the frequent representations of its ideologies relating to food. Chefs and other participants in these shows acquire national culinary capital by sticking to these ideologies, by following the suggestions of the state. It is in this sense that the state plays the role of meta-tastemaker. The prefix 'meta', here, means “at a higher level or on a different plane” (Gillespie 2001, p.103).

Thus, what I have added to the theory of culinary capital is not only the existence of its national version, but also that the state has a significant interest in shaping it; ultimately it confirms (and only rarely challenges) the hierarchical structure of the field of the nation. As with every form of capital, national culinary capital also serves the purpose of creating distinction. I have focused on how it does so in relation to the class, gender and ethnic ideologies dominating the field of the nation.

This thesis analyses how all of this happens in the field of TV, thus relating this work to media studies. I have focused on how national culinary capital is constructed on TV through a dialectic relationship between the state and television. As meta-tastemaker, the state influences TV to varying degrees (see chapter 5). I have found that the role of TV in the process that shapes national culinary capital changes according to the nation. In this sense, I have relativised 'absolutist' theories which see one of the two fields as ever-dominant and all-pervading. In fact, I have found that the dialectic relationships constructing national culinary capital strongly depend on the power balance between the state and TV. This balance has historical, political and economic variables that do not allow for a univocal perspective; this I mostly analyse in Chapter 5. I have looked at the relationships between the nation and the media in the representation of national culinary capital through Bourdieu et al.'s (1994) concept of statist capital, and Couldry's (2003) theorisation of media meta-capital. For Bourdieu there is a clear hierarchy between the two institutions, and the state possesses the super-power to influence the media. However, for Couldry, especially in the last few years, the media have become a super-power too, and may fight the state on equal terms. As said, this research has found it impossible to consider either of these points of view to be always and absolutely valid.

Empirically, I have analysed two national food travelogues in Italy and Britain and I have found that they construct national culinary capital based on different approaches to food, in order to support different ideologies. These outcomes also suggest a different reading of the supposed 'innate' food differences between one country and another. After this research, these differences may also be explained as anthropological, historical and cultural. Some food habits have been legitimised

(while others have been excluded) and stereotyped in order to create national culinary capital, support ideologies and start power relationships. Importantly, understanding the difference between the Italian and the British approach to food was the first thing to spark my interest in the field, leading me to carry out this PhD, and ultimately fulfill my curiosity. Finally, concepts such as culinary capital and national food culture mostly pertain to food studies, while other concepts such as media-meta capital belong to media studies. Only by overcoming the boundaries between the two disciplines, have I managed to carry out this research.

Thus, this study inserts national culinary capital in the scenario of the power relationships between the state and other agents, in this case the media. To fully explain this concept, it is necessary to briefly clarify that the social-conflict paradigm in general, and Bourdieu in particular, see all social processes as the result of power relationships. Broadly speaking, humans tend to acquire power by taking it away from others, and this mechanism structures each field. What is more, this thesis also connects this power-led vision and precise ontological and epistemological views that see reality as being multiple and constructed. This multiplicity of realities, in this thesis, does not mean that individuals are free to choose one of these realities, but that each powerful agent in the field tries to construct its reality to overwhelm those of the other agents (see Chapters 3 and 4).

In Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, in any field, agents struggle to acquire power and dominate others (Bourdieu 2005). These agents acquire power by accumulating various forms of capital. Among them, cultural capital is the cultural ability (e.g. understanding contemporary art) or recognition (e.g. holding a university degree) that allows its holders to confirm and increase their social superiority (Bourdieu 2010). This leads to the formation of groups that dominate, and of other groups that are dominated, with many groups in-between that dominate some groups and are dominated by others. Capital (and thus also culinary capital) always creates distinction. In fact, it separates those who create, know, can afford, learn, accumulate or practice its forms from those who cannot or do not want to deal with them. In doing so, culinary capital regulates the relationships between the dominant classes

and the dominated ones. This is a common occurrence even where food does not play a central role, e.g. at work or among friends. Thus, being an expert of Thai cuisine in certain middle-class environments confers culinary capital.

In this context, culinary capital is a powerful weapon that regulates the relationships between the dominated and dominant groups, which impose their ideologies, values and beliefs through food (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). However, sometimes culinary capital can be a weapon used by the dominated classes to challenge the dominant ones within the field (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012), for example, when new trends are put forward by new groups in a specific field. Drawing on Williams' categories of 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent' (Williams 1977, pp.121-7), an emergent trend in the field may take over the dominant one and become the new prevalent presence in the field. Hence, culinary capital either confirms or challenges the existing social structure. Finally, in uncovering the hidden mechanism of the construction of national culinary capital, this thesis also raises the reader's awareness of implied power relationships, and thus contributes to a possible reaction to them.

National Culinary Capital

Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) emphasise that culinary capital is an extremely flexible concept, and that it can be studied from many different angles. Various factors shape and affect it. First of all, ideologies and beliefs relating to social status, ethnicity and gender determine the way people view certain foods (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In addition, Bourdieu cites place and age. In fact, any exclusive practice may become common (and vice versa) in relation to the historical period and the geographical position (Bourdieu 1998b). It is this last differentiation that is fundamental for my thesis, because this work focuses on the differences between Italy and Britain, arguing that they are not 'innate', as they are often represented.

I believe that they are instead the result of power-related processes. In fact, I have found that here 'geographical position' not only refers to geography, but also to the social, political and historical environments, and that all these elements together shape the differences between the two countries in relation to national culinary capital.

This study analyses forms of culinary capital shaped by the nation. Bourdieu (1991, p.48) sees the nation, or 'the state' as he terms it, as “an entirely abstract group based on law”. The state is a powerful institution that imposes and instils principles into its citizens, and “which successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and *symbolic* violence over a definite territory and over the totality of the corresponding population” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.3). To Bourdieu, the state is a meta-field. This means that it holds a particular form of capital, “statist capital”, allowing it “to exercise power over the different fields and over the different particular species of capital” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.4). The influence of statist capital over the analysed TV programmes is at the basis of this thesis.

National ideologies and beliefs about food are collectively termed 'national food culture'. My view is that national food cultures are socially constructed (Appadurai 1988; Belasco 2002) through a process of inclusion/exclusion. This means that some foods belonging to the nation are accepted as national, while others are not, based on political, social and economic reasons (Appadurai 1988). Belasco (2002, p.12) finds that “‘national cuisines’ may be most important to the people who stand to profit the most from their construction, especially politicians, food marketers, and other food professionals”. This thesis aims to find out whether or not and how the two analysed shows draw on their respective national food cultures to construct a precise form of culinary capital. This is the form of culinary capital that I term 'national culinary capital'.

I believe that the relationships between the nation, national food culture and food TV are two-way and reciprocal. For example, I have analysed whether or not and how food TV in both countries has not only been affected by national food culture, but has also shaped it. In doing so, I am supported by Bourdieu's framework, which is

strongly relational and in which changes within the field are produced by relationships among the elements.

Some of Bourdieu's disciples have shifted their focus from the state to the nation (McCrone 2005; Sinclair 2008), considering the latter as less despotic, and national citizenship not as a condition of total subjugation, but of mediation. To varying degrees, they see the nation as a shared membership of a powerful institution, which imposes or negotiates meanings and values within the field. In this thesis I adopt the term 'nation' to indicate the nation-state, as explained in Chapters 2 and 3. Certainly the risk with this approach is seeing the nation as an enemy that someone else has imposed on our lives. Additionally, in the cases that I have analysed in this thesis it is also democratically chosen. However, drawing on Bourdieu I cannot ignore that the nation is an institution that profoundly shapes its citizen everyday lives, including food habits, through political, economic and cultural elements. For example, the fact that many national TVs are directly controlled by parliaments and governments implies that the state can control television and force it to support national ideologies. Thus, in my opinion, Bourdieu's more radical views of the power of the nation are therefore still valid. Even democracies manage to hide the very real oligarchic power that the state exerts over their citizens, who have sometimes little room to negotiate new meanings and values (Canfora and Zagrebelski 2014).

The same applies to meanings and values relating to food. National culinary capital is therefore culinary capital influenced by national food culture. National culinary capital has not been theorised prior to this thesis, even though Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) have suggested the possibility that the nation participates in the creation of general forms of culinary capital along with other elements. At present, Naccarato and Marinaccio are working on the theorisation of 'ethnic culinary capital', which originates from ethnic ideologies and values within the many groups forming the USA. By contrast, the present study focuses on the forms of culinary capital shaped by the political centrality of the nation, which I consider to be a social construct (see Chapter 2 for a review of different theories of the nation and Chapter 3 for a more detailed explanation of the nation as a social construct).

I am perfectly aware that in this global age the nation can be seen as an outmoded and redundant institution, and that in the fields of food and TV studies, global foods and global formats travel around the world displaying their undoubted creolised nature. Even Bourdieu, in his later works (2003; 2005), highlights the threat of globalisation, which:

... refers to an *economic policy* aimed at unifying the economic field by a whole set of juridical-political measures, designed to remove all the limits to the unification, all the obstacle to that extension, most of which are linked to the nation-state. (Bourdieu 2005, p.224)

However, even in this new scenario, this thesis points out that, along with global and local instances, the nation still plays a fundamental role in mediating its ideologies through food on national TV. After recognising the importance of globalisation, Bourdieu writes that:

More precisely, national states operate as *masks*, which, by attracting and attaching attention to straw men, empty figureheads – those names that clamour and clash on the front pages of the national political dailies and in the electoral battles – deflect mobilization, indignation, and protest from their true target. (Bourdieu 2003, p.14)

In conclusion, I agree that “despite the globalisation ... the scalar model of identity is believed to be primarily anchored in national space” (Edensor 2002, p.1). The two terms 'national' and 'global' are not opposed, rather, they are “two inextricably interlinked processes” (Edensor 2002, p.29). The post-modern nation-state is “responsible for making the global interactions possible” (Mihelj 2011, p.28). Certainly, all of this also has economic reasons, as “cultural industry actors involved in the global distribution of cultural products are acutely aware of the tight link between national culture and consumer preferences” (Mihelj 2011, p.35).

Finally, as I demonstrate in Chapter 7 in the case of Scotland, national culinary capital is also a weapon for the state to combat sentiments of independence and devolution. As I explain in Chapters 5 and 7, a cosmopolitan nation looks outside of itself in order to eat the Other's food, but also the Other, in a cultural sense. While doing so, it needs to reinforce the old boundaries of the nation, because the nation must remain intact to guarantee its strength and power. My analysis of Jamie Oliver's show confirms that national culinary capital effectively serves this purpose.

National Culinary Capital on TV

As explained at the beginning, this thesis analyses the TV representation of national culinary capital. For Naccarato and LeBesco (2012), television has a fundamental role in providing its audience with the opportunity to acquire culinary capital. In fact:

Television provides the basis of knowledge about these paths to good citizenship, producing the possibility that viewers can imagine themselves basking in the culinary capital of a Nigella Lawson, or a Paula Deen, or even a Bobby Flay, and thus find ways to distinguish themselves from the hoi polloi. (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.41)

Given the fact that TV suggests elements conferring culinary capital, this is the object of my investigation; the focus is upon the analysis of two TV programmes and on how tastemakers (the two chefs/presenters or other people represented as food experts) are seen as sources of national culinary capital. The analysis of the audience and of how the viewer at home acquires this form of capital is not considered in this thesis. Instead, I investigate if these programmes represent this acquisition, depicting not only tastemakers providing distinction through food, but also the transmission of national culinary capital from tastemakers to people acquiring it (e.g., representing customers of exclusive restaurants, consumers of refined items of food, and so on).

Moreover, given that today the most popular broadcasters transmit their programmes nationally, this certainly highlights the close connection between the nation and TV. Thus, I argue that television, in the case of national culinary capital, does something more than simply suggest or represent forms of capital. I believe that it can shape them, because of its strong links to the nation. As in the case of the nation, Bourdieu holds a radical perspective on television, by considering this medium to be an instrument of the dominant class to reaffirm their power over the dominated. “Television can hide by showing”, writes Bourdieu (1998a, p.19). In fact, for him television represents reality “in such a way that it takes on a meaning that has nothing at all to do with reality” (1998a, p.19). Among the components that control TV and impose their interests, Bourdieu (1998a, p.16) also identifies “the government”.

In this case too, often under the bigger umbrella of cultural studies, later research has argued that rather than serving the state in a one-way relationship, television and the nation together negotiate meanings and ideologies in a reciprocal relationship, continuously adapting themselves to ever-changing scenarios but however both acting for power-related reasons (Edensor 2002; Couldry 2003; Morley 2004b). Among the various theories, in Chapter 3 I draw on Hall's (1992) idea that television narrates the nation; on Morley's (2004b) point that television constructs the nation as the home; on Edensor's (2002) argument that popular culture represents the nation through landscape and everyday national symbols such as cars, monuments and sights; and on Couldry's (2003) theory that the media today is a meta-field as the nation, and may compete against it on equal terms. In Chapter 3 I explain how all of these studies fit into my theoretical framework in order to analyse the active role of TV in shaping national ideologies in general and national culinary capital specifically. Moreover, in the conclusion I relativize Bourdieu's more radical perspective on the nation and Couldry's assumption that the state and the media always fight on equal terms.

One of the effects of the large amount of representation of the nation through TV is to reinforce people's national identity (Hall 1992; Edensor 2002). In fact, nations are

internally divided “and 'unified' only through the exercise of different forms of cultural power” (Hall 1992, p.297). However, the construction of national cultures has in itself the ability to reinforce national groups by constructing Otherness and difference towards other groups (Morley 2004a). I am interested in this distinctive ability of national cultures, and of national food culture in particular. This happens in the two shows in many scenes, and the effect of these scenes is always to separate the 'right' side from the 'wrong' one. As I demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7, food can be very effective in this strategy.

It might appear to be a contradiction that the nation encourages differences within its borders, but Bourdieu's analysis of the state perfectly explains this. In fact, for Bourdieu the state is a “field of power” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.5). Apart from bringing citizens together, the agents dominating within its borders have another need. They must save and reinforce their predominant positions within the field, while emergent forces want to challenge the existing social structure. These dynamics make the state an ever-changing field of power, in which agents' struggles continuously create distinction among one another.

In my work, I have analysed how national culinary capital creates difference on TV according to three categories; first, *class*, meant as social distinction of a dominant, exclusive group from the others; second, *gender*, that is the socially constructed difference between the sexes; and third, *ethnicity*, to find out if there are differences between various cultural groups within the nation (the English and the Scottish, for example) or between the national Self and the Other in relation to people coming from other nations. Actually, as in the case of Scotland, ethnic diversity may also be represented as coming from the same nation, but in Oliver's show this never threatens the unity of the UK, as I analyse in Chapter 7.

To find out the extent to which and the way that television constructs national culinary capital, I have analysed two programmes belonging to a precise TV genre, which I term 'national food travelogue'. Food travelogues are food shows in which the presenters travel around a delimited space to discover, illustrate or simply show the food of that area. Sometimes, food travelogues visit remote places and show

'unbelievable foods', which seem exotic to the audience. At other times, the space that food travelogues visit is the same nation that produces and broadcasts the show (Buscemi 2014c). The latter is the case that I term 'national food travelogues' and the case of the two shows that I analyse in this thesis. On the one hand, *Ti Ci Porto Io* (Rocco and Vissani 2012) is a show produced by an Italian company and broadcast by an Italian channel. In it, the presenters travel around Italy showing Italian food to an Italian audience. On the other hand, in *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver 2011) Jamie Oliver goes around the UK (with the exclusion of Northern Ireland) showing British food to a British audience (even though the show has subsequently been sold to many foreign channels). This show, similarly, is a British (and Oliver's) production broadcast by a channel that transmits throughout the territory of Britain, even Northern Ireland, which is, however, never represented. I explain in Chapter 4 why I have chosen them, but clearly them being rooted in the nation in itself suggests interesting links to national food culture.

Seldom do national food travelogues represent foods that the members of the audience do not know (one of the exceptions is *Bizarre Foods America*, Zimmern 2012). In fact, the majority of them represent foods that their audiences already know and habitually eat. These shows often dwell on everyday foods and well-known places, because their aim is to hold the nation together (Buscemi 2014c). In these cases, it is clear that the aim is not to introduce people to new things. In this thesis, I investigate whether and how these shows construct forms of national culinary capital, and at the end of the investigation I also explore the degree of awareness of this social construction. In conclusion, this thesis explores in detail the representation of national culinary capital on two Italian and British travelogues, and aims to answer the following research questions:

Does representing national culinary capital produce social distinction and in which ways?

· **Does this representation link to class distinction and how?**

- **Is national culinary capital related to gender issues and how?**
- **Is ethnicity involved in the representation of national culinary capital and how?**

The theoretical framework that I draw on to answer these questions is developed in Chapter 3, and its bases have been explained in this chapter so far. In regard to empirical methods, they are detailed in Chapter 4. They pull together various forms of image analysis, interviews, political economy analysis and Bourdieu's field analysis.

Finally, I highlight two potential limits related to my personal situation and experience. First, I am Italian, and I might be biased in analysing my own country. However, my critical view of events in Italy over the last twenty years may have helped to balance out my perception of the two countries. The second bias, instead, regards my job. In conjunction with my academic career, I spent fifteen years as a TV writer, and certainly I know the mechanisms underlying TV. However, I do not think that my previous career has affected my perspective on this topic. Instead, this thesis has given me the opportunity to reflect on my professional career in a critical light, as I underline in the last chapter.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1, the introduction, explains the key terms of the study, such as national culinary capital and national food travelogues, and fixes the boundaries and the limits of the thesis. Moreover, the introduction also outlines the research questions. Finally, it introduces the point of view of the researcher and potential biases linked to personal condition and experience.

Chapter 2 draws together the literature review of the different perspectives of the many fields that this thesis covers. First, I review works on the nation, nation-building and the construction of national culture. Second, I report on works on food studies in general and on the construction of national food culture. Third, I review

works on media studies, cultural studies and food TV. Finally, I focus on literature specifically regarding Italy and Britain.

The third chapter firstly develops the overall paradigm, which relies on qualitative analysis, constructivism, and sociological and cultural studies. Secondly, it develops the theoretical framework, involving Bourdieu's concepts, his radical perspectives on the state and television, constructivist nation-building theories and cultural studies perspectives of the way in which the media, and specifically TV, represent the nation and food.

Chapter 4 focuses on the methods employed. Bourdieu's field analysis has been useful in investigating the fields of TV and food TV in Italy and Britain, to uncover ideologies, beliefs and political and economic links. Political economy, moving image and semiotic analysis, instead, help me analyse the two shows, *Ti Ci Porto Io* (Rocco and Vissani 2012) and *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver 2011), and find out whether and how they create national culinary capital. Finally, an interview with the Italian producer and the explanation for refusing an interview by the British producer add interesting details on the real points of view of the two shows and on their links to politics and the economy.

Chapter 5 aims to contextualise the two shows from a historical perspective, which is the point of view that Bourdieu (2005) suggests. Given Bourdieu's views of television and the nation, first, I need to know what the relationships have been over the years between these two institutions in Italy and Britain. This aims to find out which agents of the meta-field of the nation may have influenced the field of television and in what ways. More specifically, I need to know what kind of influence the nation has exerted over TV in the two countries, and the political, economic and cultural elements of the state that dominate within the field of TV. Second, in focusing on food, I need to know how food television has represented, mediated and shaped national food culture in the two countries. In order to fulfil these needs, I first carry out a field analysis of the field of television with a focus on the role of the nation in this field; and second, I analyse national food culture's trends and influences in the field of food television in both countries. In all of these

analyses, particular attention is given to the three categories of my secondary research questions, class, gender and ethnicity.

In Chapter 6, I analyse *Ti Ci Porto Io* (Rocco and Vissani 2012), the Italian show. In the first part of the chapter, a political economy perspective allows me to analyse political and economic interests relating to La7, the broadcaster of the show, and Verve Media Company, the company that produces the show. This kind of analysis is fundamental to understanding television in depth, as suggested by Bourdieu (1998a). The second part of the chapter, instead, focuses on the analysis of the episodes, which draws on qualitative image analysis and, for some scenes, on semiotic investigation.

Chapter 7 follows the same structure of Chapter 6 and applies the same methods to *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver 2011). Here the political economy analysis focuses on the broadcaster Channel 4, and on Oliver's ownership not only of the TV company producing the show, Fresh One, but also of his restaurant chains, publishing houses and kitchenware brands. This is justified by the fact that I strongly believe that these commercial interests may affect the show and the representation of some elements of national culinary capital. The second part of the chapter analyses episodes of Oliver's show using the same tools as the analysis of the Italian show.

Finally, Chapter 8 focuses on the conclusions and implications of this thesis. After the analysis of the two shows, I compare the results and link them to my theoretical framework. National culinary capital turns out to be a powerful means through which the nation exerts its hegemonic power and supports its ideologies. Actually, the results also relativize Bourdieu's and Couldry's points about the relationship between the nation and the media, because such a particular relationship cannot be pigeonholed into fixed roles. It has, instead, historical, political and economic variables that cannot be homogenised from one nation to another (see Chapter 5). In conclusion, I focus on the limits of my study and provide potential developments for this thesis. After introducing in this chapter the whole thesis and its key concepts, in Chapter 2 I review the relevant literature.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews literature from a range of key fields in order to provide a context for the next chapters of this work. As said, this study is a multidisciplinary thesis involving food and media studies, and linking the nation, food and TV to each other. For this reason, I review literature concerning all of these areas. Moreover, food studies is an interdisciplinary field in itself, which involves sociology, anthropology, economics, politics as well as other areas. It is certainly true that this thesis focuses more on food sociology than on the other areas mentioned above, but it is also true that sociology only discovered food around the 1980s, as I explain below. For many years, anthropology was the only field acknowledging that food is not only nutrition, but also 'something else'. Related to this, some anthropological intuitions about food are of great importance for this study (for example Mead's studies on national food policies or Lévi-Strauss's idea that ways of preparing food structure societies). Similarly, economic theories such as Sen's perception of political interests in famine suggest the powerful role of the state when dealing with food, a theme that is of primary importance to this study. Finally, as said in the introduction, this thesis starts from the assumption that national culinary capital is based on anthropological, historical and cultural characteristics of each nation that are legitimised and stereotyped for power-related reasons. This also suggests reviewing the most important theories relating food to anthropology, history and other disciplines, which at first glance might seem extraneous to this thesis.

In light of all of this, the first section reviews studies on the nation and nation-related concepts like national culture and national identity, and on the ways in which television represents these concepts. The second section regards food studies, in particular food culture and national food culture, and, here too, their representations on television.

Actually, this is a section broadly analysing literature on the various aspects of the relationships between humans and food. The third and fourth sections centre on all

the cited issues in relation to Italy and Britain respectively, with a focus on the few studies on Italian food TV and the many on the British.

Like food studies, cultural studies is an area whose boundaries are extremely flexible and varying, often borrowing from other disciplines. For this reason, cultural studies literature is not reviewed in a dedicated section, but it is incorporated in various parts of this chapter in relation to the above mentioned topics, such as the nation or food TV. A specific section on cultural studies is instead in Chapter 3, cultural studies being one of the theories which my paradigm is based on. Similarly, there is no section entirely dedicated to media or TV studies, but each section also reviews literature on how TV has represented the nation, national culture, food, and so on. This chapter's structure has helped me to avoid fragmenting the reviewed disciplines into too many different strands, but to offer the reader a more uniform scenario of the existing literature. To sum up, the way in which this chapter is structured fully applies to the multidisciplinary perspective of this thesis.

The analysis of literature shows that much work has been devoted to the nation, food and the media separately, but only a few studies concentrate on all the three elements; this thesis aimed to bridge this gap. The following argument, the nation, fully justifies these assumptions, resulting in studies that associate it either to food or to the media, but never to both elements from my perspective.

The Nation

The first theories

The meaning of the word 'nation' has changed through the ages. In this thesis I refer to the nation as something 'invading' other fields, which are supposed to be independent. Therefore, it is interesting to note that originally the nation only referred to the Other, to something threatening the independence of the Roman state. In the Roman age, in fact, the term *natio* was associated with barbarian tribes (Smith 2008). Similarly, James (1996,p.11) points out that “*natio*, which had a similar root to 'native', was used before the Middle Ages for 'uncivilized' peoples ... [and] came

later to refer to all aggregations ... of people with a common 'ethnic' background". In both Italian and English, the words *nazione* and 'nation' are found from the fourteenth century onward, when the concept gradually started shifting from identifying barbarian tribes to indicating a geographic community with people consciously involved in it (Kumar 2003); this is the modern meaning of the word 'nation'.

However, the nation has also been seen as a political field potentially involving violence, either physical or implied; this study is mostly interested in this second view, as in Bourdieu's theory. In the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, patriotism justified expansionism against other nations (Kearney 2007), while Loughlin (2014) considers the first modern nation to be the state created after the French Revolution in 1789, and in this event he finds the first occurrence of modern nationalism. Related to this, during the nineteenth century many nations were organised in a 'modern' way, and the old 'divine' origin of power was replaced by forms of people-led power, though the power was still restricted to the higher classes. Therefore, a new sort of power, linked to identity and nationhood, arose (Kearney 2007).

The first broad theorisation of the nation is found in Meinecke (1970). He finds two kinds of nations: the *Staatsnation*, seen as a military and political apparatus; and the *Kulturnation*, based on language and culture. Johnson (1993, p.181) sums up this distinction of the nation "as a political construction or as 'citizenship'". This thesis totally agrees that over the years these two forms of nation have become two aspects of the same institution (Wodak et al. 2009). Bourdieu's (1998c) concept of the state with two hands, and the idea of nation put forward by this study, both developed in Chapter 3, may be seen as linked to this theory. Communism viewed nations as a transitory limitation because it saw the triumph of the proletariat as a global phenomenon (James 1996). This approach may be linked to contemporary perspectives that see the nation as being threatened by globalisation, but this thesis totally disagrees with these views. In fact I believe that nations have been gaining power thanks to internationalisation and globalisation, as explained below. After the two world wars, finally, the nation-state fully replaced the old imperialist conception

of the nation and became the main way in which states were organised. However, Smith (2010, p.12) warns that “purely 'objective' criteria of the nation – language, religion, territory and so on – always fail to include some nations”.

Mirroring Meinecke's distinction (1970), Guibernau (2007) finds two schools of thought regarding the nation, primordialists and instrumentalists. Primordialists see the nation as based on nature, tradition, beliefs and language, while instrumentalists see culture as something constructed by elites. Even here, however, I consider postmodern nations to be a combination of the two trends, giving precedence to the ideological nature of this institution. Following on from instrumentalism, finally, postmodernists and deconstructionists argue that elites invent traditions that support their ideologies (Guibernau 2007). A further contribution to the concept of nation is the idea that the nation is totally constructed, as reported in the next subsection.

The Modern Nation

The concept of “imagined community”, developed by the political scientist Benedict Anderson (1983), is generally considered to be the first theorisation of the 'modern nation'. The book is part of my theoretical framework, and here it is enough to underline Anderson's idea of the nation as a constructed concept, which is not natural. Anderson, however, does not identify the constructed nation as something negative, but as a necessary element in our society, despite being subject to power. The debate around Anderson's affirmation has developed between those who see the constructed nation as a dominating structure and those who see it as playing a softer role. On the one hand, Gellner, another constructionist theorist, sees the constructed nature of the nation as overwhelming local cultures and preventing people from being completely free (Kearney 2007). On the other hand, Schlesinger, a political scientist and cultural studies media sociologist, disagrees with this view and limits the role of the nation in relation to culture. He argues that the national education system cannot be seen as the only cultural producer, underlining that other alternative identities may be constructed in opposition to the dominant ideologies (Schlesinger 1991). I see Bourdieu's theory of the nation as the solution to this debate. Actually, I

do not think that the power of the nation is strong or soft *tout court*. If the nation is a field of power, the agents controlling it organise the field in their favour and according to their ideologies. For this reason, each state has a different degree of power over its citizens, and this research, focusing on what happens in two nations in relation to food, has aimed at shedding light on this issue.

However, I believe that the nation creates dominant and dominated groups. As a result of this, one of the most illuminating theorists of the nation, Homi Bhabha (1990; 1992), analyses the nation from the perspective of subaltern people. Moreover, for him, the nation is a form of narration, with narrative structures and rules, and this thesis totally concurs with this point of view.

Many media studies scholars agree with the constructionist paradigm and argue that the media in general and TV in particular play active roles in the process of nation-building. Here, I cite the most useful for this work, and at the end of the review I add some critical remarks. Among the many, in my theoretical framework I draw on authors like Edensor and many cultural studies scholars like Hall and Morley. They all update Anderson's point, as while Anderson considered nationhood as something culturally homogeneous, they also draw on Williams (1977) to analyse the nation as the combination of three categories: the dominant, the residual and the emergent; this is similar to Bourdieu, who sees dominant and new agents as struggling in the field of the nation for power. Moreover, for Castellò et al. (2009), if the nation is a form of narration, it should be studied as a medium, as a field of production and consumption. Thus, national culinary capital might be understood as a text produced by the nation for its audience, the citizens. Berger (2011, p.1) points out that the nation is made up of "the stories we tell each other about our national belonging"; finally, Hall (1992), Morley (2004a and 2004b) and Edensor (2002) focus on the relationships between the nation and popular culture, especially television (see Chapter 3). I find all of these theories connected to my research, however they often consider the media as shaping the nation, more than been affected by the state. I believe that the media contribute to the formation of an idea of nation, but also draw on theories which see the nation as a field more powerful than the media, and can

affect them to varying degrees. In this light, this study agrees that the media contribute to nation-building, but sees them as controlled by powers closely linked to the nation, and therefore not independent. In conclusion, there is hierarchy between the nation and the media, as in Bourdieu's work, but I add that this hierarchy is variable.

On the concept of the nation-state, Smith (1995) argues that it exists only when the nation and the state totally coincide, and this only happens in very few cases. This study, then, focuses on states as powerful entities that overwhelm cultural uniformity, rather than on nations which are not states but cultural communities (e.g. Scotland or Wales), which I see as simple localisms with aspirations of being nations, but which are controlled by larger states. Similarly, Williams (1999, p.7) argues that “the ultimate objective of nationalist movements is to make the nation and the state co-extensive”, because the ultimate desire of a nation is to become a state, which is “characterized in particular by consolidation of territorial control, centralization, coordination among divisions, differentiation of government from other organizations, and acquisition and mutual recognition of autonomy by some government” (McNeely 1995, p.3). Nations as cultural entities, instead, usually undervalue these elements (Smith 2010).

The political and powerful nature of the state over the cultural community of the nation is confirmed by the state's trespassing of cultural borders. Smith (2010) reports that in the 1970s only about 10% of states were true nation-states, with their boundaries coinciding with those of the nation. The difficulty of European nation-building and the construction of a super-state made up of different nation-states is an illuminating example of how the old institution of the nation-state strives to maintain its powerful position in the field.

Finally, some literature also analyses the relationships between the nation and gender, which is the subject of one of my secondary questions. Tolz and Booth (2005) argue that women play a passive role and only pass tradition onto the other members of the family. The nation, in this view, is a male subject, constructed and reinforced by men. Walby (2005, p.14) argues that nations are strongly affected by gender issues

and that with nations being constructed by soldiers, “war and the military are gendered”.

In this subsection I have reviewed literature on the nation and theories that have been useful in shaping my personal concepts on the matter. I have also criticised some perspectives and underlined the differences between them and the view adopted by this research. Related to the nation, the concept of national identity may be seen from various perspectives, and the next subsection reviews some of them.

National Identity

National identity has been analysed as referring to the two forms of nations seen above, one more powerful, the other softer. Moreover, it is a concept that lacks a precise definition (Cameron 1999; Williams 1999). The sociologist Anthony Smith, one of the most important contributors to the field of nation studies, finds that “national identity and the nation are complex constructs composed of a number of interrelated components – ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political. They signify bonds of solidarity among members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions” (Smith 1991, p.15). Johnson, instead, reminds us that “nationality may be 'imposed or given' ... [and] always it is a strong cultural pressure around my appearance in the world, a pressure which is hard to evade, since cultural nationality is an important means to social recognition” (Johnson 1993, p.176).

Over the last few years, national identities have been viewed as being in crisis, overwhelmed by globalisation, which is supposed to homogenise differences. Postmodernism sees identities as multiple and always in a state of flux (Alcoff 2003), but I argue that this does not mean that national identity is in crisis. An illuminating example of this is from the football World Cup of 2014. Many players played in different teams from their nationality, in the sense of birth or residence (Katwala 2014). This has been linked to the theory that nations are losing their importance and that the globalised world is overshadowing old national identities. Instead, I argue for example that what has motivated 16 players born in France to play for Algeria, the

nation of their families, is certainly the possibility of playing for a national team (as the French team was more difficult to join) but it is also a form of national identity, arising not from their birthplaces but from their origins. Related to this, Smith (2010) is concerned with the fact that identity is an individual feeling that may be stretched to the extent of being considered collective. However, we cannot consider collective identities as the sum of a group of people. Identity is instead made up of shared beliefs, past and meanings (Smith 2010).

Finally, even discourse analysis focuses on the nation. Wodak et al. (2009) highlight that national identity is socially constructed through discursive practices, while Cameron (1999) advances that religion, politics and the media all together contribute to the construction of national identity. This is exactly what this thesis acknowledges, also adding that the nation often plays a more relevant role. Finally, studies focusing on the media as sources of national identity are part of my theoretical framework (see Chapter 3).

This subsection has pulled together studies on national identities relating to this work. I have highlighted that, as with the nation, national identity has also been seen either as a 'cultural' element unifying people with common origins, or as a constructed, often imposed, 'social uniform'. Again, as in the case of the nation, I mostly agree with this second view and have also reviewed studies on media as playing fundamental roles in constructing national identity. Even in this case, as with the nation, I have found a gap in the focus on the different degrees of hierarchy between the nation and the media, which many studies classify as determinism. As a result of this, I underline that analysing the ways in which the nation affects the media is not determinism but political economy.

Culture and National Culture

'Culture' is probably the widest concept that humanistic researchers must deal with and many studies have been written on it. Collins (1990, p.260) tries to communicate this wideness when he writes that “culture in its 'anthropological' sense is a bundle of attributes that differentiate human social groups from each other”. Such a wide

concept, however, is subject to differentiations and stratifications:

... in formulas such as “popular culture”, “mass culture”, “elite culture”, where differentiations are “horizontal” ... or in formulas such as “Islamic culture”, “Black culture”, “feminist culture”, where the distinctions are made differently along vertical fault lines ... Any individual is at the intersection of a plurality of such distinctions. (Collins 1990, p.260)

Culture sometimes becomes national, and this is of primary importance for this study. As for the term 'nation', national culture has also long been defined through functionalist and positivist lenses. The first definitions by Kluckhohn (1951) or Kroeber and Parsons (1958) focus on the concept of shared values within a community, without highlighting the constructed nature of the nation. For Hofstede (1980), the state is the place in which we may best study a culture. Hofstede's schematic view does not suit the post-modern and multiethnic society. He later distanced himself from this Western-centric approach and accepted the idea that cultures are more complex systems, always in a state of flux (Wong 2008). At the opposite end of studies on national culture, the constructivist approach argues that national culture is constructed by a negotiation between culture (and therefore also the media), politics and the economy. Gramsci (1964), Hall (1992) and Edensor (2002) state these principles, and their contents are developed in my theoretical framework, with this theory being at the basis of this thesis, even though I see the state as having an advantage in this negotiation.

National culture has many links to globalisation studies. Without entering “the labyrinth that is the literature about globalization studies” (Mooney and Evans 2007, p.ix) here I focus just on studies of globalisation and the nation and national culture. To sum up, many studies (Held 1990 and 1995; Ohmae 1995; Bauman 1998, all cited in Velayutham 2007) argue that globalisation is overshadowing nation-state and national culture. Other scholars (King 1991; Smith 1991; Hirst and Thompson 1996; Tomlinson 1999, all cited in Velayutham 2007) point out that the nation-state is still powerful, and this study agrees with this second strand of research.

Finally, Massey downplays the importance of globalization, stating that:

Most people actually live in places like Harlesden or West Brom. Much of life, for many people, even in the heart of the first world, still consists in waiting in a bus-shelter with your shopping for a bus that never comes. (Massey 1994, p.163)

Even though I see the nation as more powerful than globalisation, I cannot agree with Massey. In fact, I argue that even people living in small villages may be reached by globalisation through the goods they buy, for example. In short, I see globalisation not as 'defeated' by the nation, but as contributing to the aims of the state. In this, I agree with cultural studies, which is inclined to consider globalisation not as being against the nation but as being part of an overall power-led system; this I see as politically and economically hegemonic, a point later developed in Chapter 3. Finally, I argue that another sign which proves the strength of the nation is the resistance shown by nationalistic movements and of sentiments of patriotism. In the next subsection, I review literature on them.

Patriotism and Nationalism

The term 'patriotism' comes from the Latin *patria*, which means 'of the father' and has more than one meaning, again applying to the different meanings of the word 'nation'. In ancient times, patriotism was meant as a positive and heroic feeling (Viroli 1995), but later something changed. Nathanson in fact distinguishes:

... three possible types of patriotic concern. First, there is *special* concern for one's country ... Second, there is *exclusive* concern ... Finally, there is *aggressive* concern, a form that requires not only benefits to one's own country but dominance over others. (Nathanson 1993, p.7)

The approach to patriotism and nationalism depends on what idea of nation these terms imply. Frequently within the literature on the topic, a *kulturnation* shapes a positive and soft sense of community, while a *staatsnation* gives way to more aggressive and racist sentiments. In Italian city-states of the fifteenth century, for example, patriotism was one of the main virtues (Viroli 1995). Liberals such as Mazzini, inspired by Kant, found that “the struggle for national self-determination was a struggle against oppression” (Spencer and Wollman 2002, p.7). Within this more positive approach to the term, Greenfeld (1992) finds that the age of nationalism started in the sixteenth century, when in England the word 'nation' signified not an elite anymore, but a people.

However things changed “as nationalism spread in different conditions and the emphasis in the idea of the nation moved from the sovereign character to the uniqueness of the people” (Greenfeld 1992, p.10), threatening democratic principles. Tolstoj (1974, p.40) finds patriotism to be “stupid and immoral”. Today, nationalism more often has a negative meaning, in that national ideologies consider those who do not submit to dominant beliefs and ideologies as enemies (Spencer and Wollman 2002), becoming, sometimes, racism. Also Marx and Engels were strongly critical of nationalism, in that they saw workers' interests as not being different from one state to another (Spencer and Wollman 2002). As said above, in my view communism failed to understand the value of the nation and the power of the state. In times of globalisation, Collins (1990) sees nationalism as a barrier between one state and another, because national interests and ideologies are often in contrast with the global Other. Again, I feel the need to pull together the two versions of this concept. I do not see them as alternative, but as two faces that the state may show in different circumstances. Smith seems to be the scholar that supports my view more than the others, when he says that nationalism is not just one thing. He finds that it may be “a language and symbolism, a sociopolitical movement, and an ideology of the nation” (Smith 2010, p.6). To this, I add that at any time, the state may choose what kind of nationalism best defends its interests. Again, Bourdieu's theory of the state with two hands (Bourdieu 1998c) better explains this point.

The two countries which I investigate in this thesis, Italy and Britain, also suggest investigating colonialism, which is the power of one state over others. Post-colonialism sees that the roles of the two actors, the colonised and the colonisers, must be re-written, and that the relationships between colonisers and colonised was not one-way (Bhabha 1992). Colonialism cannot be explained “by dividing the world into the good (the formerly oppressed) and the bad (the former oppressors)” (Huddart 2006, p.4). Even the media have a fundamental role in representing the nation and its ideologies, and the next subsection focuses on literature on TV, the nation and national culture.

TV, the Nation and National Culture

In the 1920s, Lippmann found that images of the nation were in people's minds and that stereotypes marked the difference between the “world outside and the pictures in our heads” (2004, p.1). When television was still in its infancy, scholars found that images of the nation were spread by the most popular medium of those times, the newspaper (Larson and Rivenburgh 1991). Since the 1950s, the media have been considered as sources of national identity and nationalism (Deutsch 1953). Many studies point out that television and other media provide 'versions' of the nation, constructed representation of the nation-state (Hall 1992; Johnson 1993; Wodak et al. 2009).

Today Lippmann's “pictures in our heads” (2004, p.1) are strongly influenced by TV, and reality and its representations seems to influence each other in a complex and ever changing relationship. In the postmodern society, the clear boundaries that in the past delimited units and territories do not exist anymore (Hart 1990). In times of “unstable identities and transpositions” (Morley 2004b, p.305), Williams (1977) puts forward the concept of “mediation”, in which various agents such as culture, the media and society negotiate new meanings.

In terms of mediation, Mattelart and Mattelart (1990, p.149) argue that television is not “an apparatus that manages one-dimensionally the social and ideological reproduction of the existing social order ... [but rather] a contradictory space where

meaning is negotiated and cultural hegemony created and re-created in the play of mediations”.

As I have written in my introduction and will highlight in my theoretical framework, nations build themselves by processes of inclusion/exclusion. There are many studies on the way in which television and the other media fuel feelings of national identity. Among the studies on TV genres, Porto (2011) analyses how *telenovelas* shape national identity in Brazil. Additionally, globalisation raises interesting issues when studied from the perspective of the media. Echoing Hall, Larson and Rivenburgh (1991) advance that television serves both purposes, the narrow local dimension and the cosmopolitan global approach. However, Castellò et al. (2009) argue that TV mostly supports national interests. The resistance of the state against other forms of power is exemplified by an EU document, the 1984 European commission green paper *Television Without Frontiers*, which complained that European televisions were nation-based, and not European-centred (Schlesinger 1991).

This focus on TV concludes the section of this chapter reviewing literature on the nation and related concepts. I have highlighted links of this thesis to other studies, similarities, critiques and gaps that my work fills. The next section reviews literature on food studies, food being another central element of my work.

Food Studies

Food studies relates to all the fields connected to food apart from its nutritional aspects. It is studied by anthropology, history, sociology, ethnology, psychology, philosophy, economics and other social sciences, unified under the big umbrella of food studies. Miller and Deutsch (2009, p.3) consider food studies “the study of the relationships between food and the human experience”, while others find that “food studies is in disarray. It has been hit by a set of material developments that it is far from capable of addressing, not least because it has always been a disparate collection of fragments” (Fine et al. 1996, p.14). Starting from this critique, I would conclude that food studies is certainly not a schematic discipline, and that it trespasses and blurs any traditional academic boundary and limit. I can understand

that the structure of this entire section may sound unusual, but this is also the structure of the literature review of many other works on food studies. Finally, I also find this variety, or 'mess' for some, to be one of the irresistible attractions of this field of study.

Thus, rather than focusing on media, this section analyses literature on the relationships between humans and food, in their widest sense. Since the end of the nineteenth century, anthropologists have written of food and on how it affects social life. However, food studies as a discipline is a novelty. It started in the 1990s as a US academic field (Albala 2013) and there is the shared idea that it is not yet completely formed (Levy 2009). In the introduction of his handbook on food studies, Albala (2013) underlines its multidisciplinary nature. Not by chance, the first section of the book is dedicated to anthropology, while sociology, history and media studies come later on. Moreover, Albala notes the absence of political scientists in analysing food. My thesis also aims to fill this gap, being widely political in its scope. After anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians and others have also analysed the relationships between humans and food, even though, until the 1990s, they were unaware that their studies were part of 'food studies'. Their analyses have related to social structures, politics, economics, emotional elements and so on. In the following sections, I try to give an account of these links. The first subsection focuses on food, economics and politics.

Food, Economics and Politics

In observing people from remote areas of the world, anthropologists noted that food had a fundamental role in organising these societies. Bronislaw Malinowski (1984) spent several years in observing daily life of Pacific islanders, and investigated how food choices shaped their political and social relationships. His PhD student Audrey Richards collaborated with the nutritionist Widdowson (Richards and Widdowson 1936) and found the links between nutritional factors and the social and political roles of food. In doing so they founded nutritional anthropology. Margaret Mead followed on from Richards. Differently from other anthropologists, who studied

tribes' habits in exotic places, Mead focused on her own country, the US. She underlined Americans' necessity to change their food policies. Thanks in part to Mead, “nutritional anthropology came into being as a distinct area of inquiry in the 1970s. ... Since that time, the field of nutritional anthropology has continually expanded” (Goodman et al. 2000, p.III). Thus, it was anthropology that started studying food as 'something else', something shaping people's everyday lives and also having political and economic implications. These implications have great importance for my analysis, as I demonstrate in the chapters concerning the analysis of the two TV programmes and in the theorisation of national culinary capital.

From the 1970s, however, anthropology underwent a period of crisis (Stocking 2001) and other disciplines started analysing food as a political subject. The Indian economist Amartya Sen's most important work, *Poverty and Famines* (1981) puts forward the idea that political and economic interests contribute to food shortage. Following on from Richards and Mead, nutritionists, journalists and researchers highlight that food is more than something to eat because it is also a political issue. Marion Nestle's *Food Politics* (2007) analyses all the ways in which the food industry influences our diet. For Naccarato and LeBesco (2012), studies such as Nestle (2007) or Pollan (2006), that aim at representing organic and healthy foods as a sort of 'premier league food', as opposed to supermarket food, actually aim at creating social distinction and are a powerful source of culinary capital. Germov and Williams (2008) explain that food guidelines are affected by powerful companies and political complicity, as in the case of dietary guidance on sugar in the US. In 1980 they stated “Avoid too much sugar” (Nestle 2006, p.330), in 2005 “Choose and prepare foods and beverages with little added sugars or caloric sweeteners, such as amounts suggested by the USDA Food Guide and the DASH Eating Plan” (Nestle 2006, p.330). Certainly, dietary guidance is not the topic of my thesis, but guidelines are often published by governments, and it is of great interest for this thesis that the state affects consumption, even though this is a field outside the remit of my thesis.

Warren Belasco politically and historically investigates the past and future of food. Looking back, Belasco (2007, p.45) tells the story of food in the hippy movement,

finding that “some of today’s superpremium ice cream moguls started out as hip restaurateurs serving zonked customers attuned to strange blends of thick fresh cream, tropical fruits, and crushed candy bars”. Looking ahead, Belasco (2006) analyses how people, over the years, have seen (and foreseen) the future of food. In the US, the need to celebrate the national triumph of the space missions led to the commercialisation of astronauts' foods, which actually turned out to be a failure. In the meantime, in the following missions since the 1970s, astronauts' foods have become more similar to that sold in supermarkets (Belasco 2006). Even today, industry tries to promote technological foods as 'wonder foods'. Among the others, SIS (Science In Sport) promotes many kinds of foodstuffs like bars and drinks, which claim to guarantee athletes higher performances (Science in Sport, no date), and even tries to sell it to non-sportspeople. On the contrary, to improve their performances, other companies promote one of the most primordial foods, colostrum (Ley 2002).

On a journalistic or less academic level, Eric Schlosser’s *Fast Food Nation* (2001) analyses the industrialisation and ‘McDonaldisation’ of food. Books such as *Appetite for profit* (Simon 2006), *The End of Food* (Roberts 2008) and *Food Inc.* (Weber 2009), and documentaries like *The Future of Food* (Garcia 2004), *Our Daily Bread* (Geryhalter 2005) and *King Corn* (Woolf 2007), echo Schlosser's issues. While animal rights advocate Masson (2009) promotes vegetarianism, the above mentioned Pollan’s *Omnivore Dilemma* (2006), focuses on the three options of the post-modern eater: industrial food from the supermarket, organic food grown without fertilisers or other dangerous substances, and personal food (self-grown, gathered or hunted). After reviewing literature on political and economic perspectives on food studies, in the next subsection I explain studies underlining the functionalist role of food in society.

Food as a Function of Something Else

The functionalist approach finds that, in every society, food serves the basic function of maintaining the social structure. The anthropologist Alfred Radcliffe-Brown is

considered one of the founders of functionalism. In his observation of the Andamans (Radcliffe-Brown 1933), he noted that coastal dwellers and forest dwellers were divided by the way they obtained food, and that food was function of their different lifestyles. Drawing on Mauss (2002) and on his work on gift exchanges, economic anthropologist Sahlins (1972) stressed the social function of food exchanges in primitive socio-political alliances. In my view, functionalism analyses systems as one-way processes, and fails to catch the complex, reciprocal and contradictory relations of the postmodern world. Critics notice that “functionalism, because of its circular reflection back on itself, explains only unchanging social systems ... this is unrealistic” (Jarvie 2004, p.199). In this study, I find that the relationships between the nation, food and TV continually change in relation to time, space and other variables, and that these three elements, although hierarchically positioned, interact with each other. For this reason, the perspective on food put forward by functionalism does not apply to this thesis.

A further development of functionalism is Harris (1985) cultural materialism. Harris questions why people don't eat everything that can be eaten and finds that environmental or nutritional issues may affect social food habits. He finds that one food is more preferable than another because it improves the environment, the economy or development; this explains why a cow is sacred in India and why Muslims and Jews reject pork. Harris theory is certainly interesting, but it does not acknowledge the strength of social conventions in food choice. Religion cannot explain why people do not eat particular foods. Harris does not explain why, for example, western Europeans do not eat grubs and the French see frog legs as a delicacy, differently from their neighbours. In the end, I argue that today many other factors, beyond environmental and nutritional reasons, contribute to people's food choices, which are more complex than the strict taboos put forward by religions.

In many developmentalist theories, who chooses what we eat is the development of human beings throughout history. Theorising a continuous process of human civilisation, German philosopher Norbert Elias (1939) considers food and table manners as part of a 'civilizing process'. Following Elias, Goody (1982) reflects on

why development is sometimes not uniform. He asks why high and low cuisines emerge in some societies (i.e. Asia and Europe) but not others (i.e. Africa). Goody finds the solution in the acculturation of societies, literacy, and in the gender division of work. Finally, in 1985 “the major sociological history of British food habits” (Warde 1997, p.3) was published. It is Stephen Mennell’s *All Manners of food* (1996), one of the most important examples of developmental theory regarding food. Mennell’s work is really illuminating in highlighting some fundamental stages that mark the development of the relationships between humans and food, but I disagree with him when he states that every stage improves food habits. In fact, I find that the relationships between humans and food, as with every relationship, are not exclusively forms of improvement, but whole, contradictory and uneven mutual processes.

Another key author of food anthropology is Sidney Mintz. To Mintz, a strong critic of structuralism, meaning is not hidden in the structure of society, but grows from cultures. Mintz (1985) historically analyses the production, commercialisation and consumption of sugar, and the huge political, economic and cultural interests that have shaped this food. Fiddes (1991) symbolically investigates what meat symbolises in western society, adopting gender and power categorisations. Following Elias’s theory (1939), according to which meat has undergone a process of de-animalization, Fiddes (1991) points out that parts of the animal are removed from the stages of eating and selling, because they symbolise blood and death. A further investigation of this process can be found in my work on cultured meat (Buscemi 2014a), and all of this has many links to the way in which Oliver represents meat in his show, as I analyse in Chapter 7. Instead, structuralists see that food may be analysed by structuring its different forms and effects on society, and the next subsection focuses on these.

When Food Structures Societies

The idea that food structures society might appear to be in line with the general assumptions of this research, and even Bourdieu has often been considered as a

structuralist. However, I contend that Bourdieu's concepts of field, agents and habitus paint a more dynamic picture than that hypothesised by structuralists. In the end, many structuralists may be considered functionalists and determinists, but they were the first to underline that food has a fundamental role in structuring societies; this is why they are important for this thesis. Lévi-Strauss was seen by Bourdieu as the prototype of the objective scientist (Swartz 1997). Lévi-Strauss finds links between the cuisine and the structure of a society. His culinary triangle (Lévi-Strauss 1966) is one of the classic examples of structuralist analysis of food. As for the phonemes (a, u, i or k, p, t), Lévi-Strauss looks at food as a matter of oppositions. He finds three categories: the raw, natural food without any transformation; the cooked, food that has been transformed by man (cultural transformation); the rotten, food that has been transformed by nature (natural transformation).

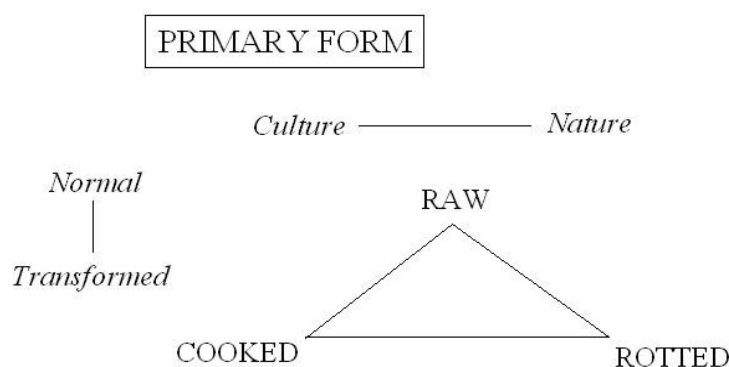


Figure 1: The culinary triangle (Lévi-Strauss 1966)

From: <http://laurarand.edublogs.org/2010/04/22/eat-eat-eat/>

The triangle is added to with other categories, as there are three different modes of cooking: roasting, smoking and boiling. The first is more 'natural', because food is directly exposed to the fire. Boiling is more 'cultural', mediated by the water in which it is immersed. Related to this, when analysing cannibals' behaviours, Lévi-Strauss argues that the tribes that eat enemies, roast them. The tribes that eat friends or relatives, boil them. For cultural studies, "there is an arbitrariness in the way in

which he establishes the centrality of that oppositional system” (Ashley et al. 2004, p.34). Finally, I argue that the triangle puts forward interesting results when prefiguring how forms of cooking relate to society, but that its strict categorisation limits the multifaceted reality in which humans approach food. Given the many new forms of cooking, today the triangle should be imagined as a strange geometric form with innumerable sides and angles.

British anthropologist Mary Douglas (1972) analyses how people eat in her own house. The article starts by criticising Lévi-Strauss's triangle from a structuralist point of view. Douglas argues that food meanings change in relation to contexts, and the results of Lévi-Strauss's article fail in terms of validity (Douglas 1972). Douglas searches for the structure in her own family eating patterns, and underlines basic differences between cold and hot meals and the menus of weekday and Sunday lunches. Even here, in my view, food choices are seen as too small an issue, affected only by everyday life, and totally extraneous to broader pressures such as politics and economics.

Throughout his work, Roland Barthes underlines the centrality of food to other forms of social behaviour. In Barthes, food is first of all a system of signs (Barthes 2008), as food “transmits a situation; it constitutes an information; it signifies” (Barthes 2008, p.29). Food may also have social implications, such as the opposition between bitter and sweet flavours, which tend to be associated with the upper and lower classes. Moreover, while in the past food was celebrated only during festive occasions, today we experience a “polysemia of food” through many activities, sports, leisure and many kinds of celebration (Barthes 2008, p.33). All of this can generate changes in how we perceive food. Coffee has always been considered a stimulant to the nervous system but in recent years, in advertising, it is becoming synonymous with break and rest, because now it is not felt to be a “substance” but rather a “circumstance”. After Barthes, other semioticians have analysed the role of food within a single text, for example in the Bible (Soler 1997). Barthes’s article was first published by *The Annals*, the French historical journal describing daily life in the past. *The Annals’* school and its major author Fernand Braudel deemed food to be

a key factor in understanding the relations between the diverse elements of a society (Forster and Ranum 1979). Another strand of research investigates deeper, cultural relationships between humans and food, and the two way-processes in which the different parts negotiate continually changing meanings. This is certainly an approach that is shared more by this study, and the next subsection focuses on it.

Food as a Cultural Issue

The first ‘cultural’ interests in food focused on sex, taboos and totemism, linking food taboos and ways of food consumptions to magical meanings. Frazer argues that the consumption of food is closely linked to culture (Frazer 1922). The relationship between sex and food was investigated by Crawley (1927), who also underlines the passage from eating alone (an animal legacy) to eating in group as a process of civilisation. As with anthropology, these studies are too early to be adopted as support for my research, which is based on postmodern world. However, their importance is in their intuition that food has a fundamental role in shaping human life at every level.

Cultural studies, in studying food, starts from Mikhail Bakhtin and Norbert Elias. Bakhtin is studied for his “analysis of the practices associated with carnival celebrations” (Ashley et al. 2004, pp.41-2), while Elias is analysed for his focus on table manners in everyday life (Ashley et al. 2004). The cultural studies approach challenges structuralism, because if structuralism supposes that those structures pre-exist human beings, cultural studies asserts that people's lives are not pre-determined, but can always change because of cultural, social and political influences (Ashley et al. 2004); this thesis totally agrees with this point.

Malcolmson (1973) and Stedman Jones (1974; 1983) represent English popular culture as threatened by modernity, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively, and find the pub, rather than any food, to be the element that shaped, but also mediated, class issues. Hoggart (1957) considers the pub as a place entirely devoted to everyday working-class life. Clarke (1979, p.245) nostalgically remembers when the pre-war working classes held a real ‘membership’ in pubs,

considered “a sort of colonized institution”. While I consider this first British cultural studies literature to be linked to my thesis because it involves class and ideology in the debate on food, it seems to me to be excessively class-centric. Non-British researchers, instead, also involve other forms of social difference, such as gender. Giard et al. (1998) see food as an opportunity for the dominated to balance out power relationships, for example in the case of women. Similarly, Carole Counihan (1997) points out that when women made bread at home, their relationships with men were more balanced than when bread started being bought at the supermarket. The power of the female bread-maker is also confirmed by Kanafani-Zahar (1997). Once out of the kitchen and in the office, women lose their ‘private’ power and acquire a ‘public’ power, which is more uncertain and stressful (Counihan 1999). After gender, ethnicity would only become an issue in cultural studies debate around food later. As it mostly involves the media, I review literature on this below, in the section on food on television.

Other cultural literature does not originate from cultural studies scholars, but from writers that consider 'culture' as a more individual, rather than social, category. On coffee, Tucker, echoing Barthes, explains that the success of coffee may only be explained with social and cultural reasons (Tucker 2011). Allen (1999) has also investigated coffee, visiting almost every place in the world connected to it. In another work, Allen (2002) associates the seven deadly sins with food throughout history.

Finally, two different ways of being 'cultural' are firstly the work on aphrodisiac food by Anderson (2005), who argues that they are only the result of a placebo effect; secondly the analysis of literary criticism on food by Appelbaum (2006), who scours through literature's masterpieces searching for the symbolic and cultural meanings of food. Even though these studies strive to link food to cultural influences and 'deep' beliefs, they fail in two different ways: first, they consider culture as detached from ideology and power; and second, they lack a theory supporting their statements. This therefore results in being weak and not linkable to other studies.

This subsection has focused on studies in which 'culture' is key to investigating the relationships between humans and food. After reviewing early literature on the topic, I have focused on cultural studies, both British and non-British, highlighting the differences between the two. A concluding part has analysed studies lacking a theoretical basis, but which try to underline cultural factors as decisive in the relations between humans and food, and for this reason they relate to the scope of this thesis. The next subsection reviews literature on sociology.

The Awakening of Sociology

Mennell et al. (1992) argue that many sociologists feel guilty because sociology only discovered food in the 1980s. They explain this by pointing out the disinterest toward food of the great sociologists of the past, from Weber to Durkheim, and also of social philosophers such as Marx and Engels. Today food is instead increasingly studied by sociologists. Among these, Warde quantitatively investigates food consumption and food media consumption. Analysing food in woman's magazines, he finds that Novelty and Tradition are continually fighting. While novelty is trendy and attractive, tradition gives the reader a sense of security (Warde 1997).

In the last few years, Warde, along with other researchers, has looked at omnivorousness as a key concept that sheds light on how cultural capital is among the factors that influence people's cultural choices in general and food in particular. Omnivorousness is a distinctive, social attitude relating to postmodern society. The term was coined by Peterson (1992) and Peterson and Simkus (1992), and relates to a distinct class of people consuming the maximum variety of goods. When applied to food, the term becomes strictly bound to culinary capital and food distinction (Warde et al. 2008; Warde and Gayo Cal 2009). For this reason, it is developed in Chapter 3, as part of my theoretical framework.

Sociology has also investigated the opposition between cooking at home and eating out. Charles and Kerr (1988) focus on cooking at home and the family food system, while Marshall (1986) centres on cooks and waiters' degree of satisfaction. Finkelstein (1998, p.214) explains that "dining out becomes an event that brings the

individual – figurative and literally – into the public arena and exposes him or her to the scrutinizing eye of the other”. She acknowledges the distinctive nature of going to the restaurant, and her work may be considered in line with Bourdieu's idea that food creates distinction.

Like anthropologists, sociologists also found new allies in nutritionists, either in large-scale surveys or in smaller-scale studies on special groups, to analyse food consumption and its causes (Mennell et al. 1992), often linking food to health (Blaxter and Paterson 1982; Cornwell 1984). The French sociologist Fischler argues that human beings appear to be more adaptable to different contexts than other animals because they are omnivorous, free to eat anything. Actually, they are less free because they need several kinds of foods, while the specialised eaters obtain what they need just from one food that they know very well (Fischler 1988). While the ‘omnivore’s dilemma’ is quoted in almost every book on food studies, another interesting part of Fischler’s work is less known. It refers to the shifting of cuisine from a natural dimension to a cultural one, which is the reason why Western people do not eat insects, even though they could, as social conventions prevent them from doing so (Fischler 1988). Fischler's broad and complex discourse on food underlines the non-nutritional aspects of the human diet. It is of great help for this work, because it contributes to explaining social rules and beliefs around food which are also present in the analysed TV shows and lead to social distinction.

In this subsection, I have centred on the late sociological interest in food, and have summarised some of the trends of sociological literature on food. However, a particular strand of sociological research analyses how goods become status symbols for consumers, and is of particular importance for this thesis. This strand is called the sociology of taste, and the related literature is reviewed in the next subsection.

The Sociology of Taste

An important strand of social research does not regard food in particular. Instead, it is concerned with any field of consumption, and analyses how consuming goods contributes to forming social difference. It is termed the sociology of taste and

interestingly for this research it anticipates many points put forward by Bourdieu. The sociology of taste draws on Kant and his purely aesthetic view of taste, meant as general inclination obtained through our senses (Gronow 1997). Simmel (1981) argues that fashion, meant in its wider sense and involving large amounts of goods, pushes people towards two opposing directions: on the one hand, fashion suggests being part of a group through imitation; on the other hand, it advises people to be different, to acquire social distinction. Broadly speaking, “the theory of class fashion, generally adopted by sociologists from Georg Simmel and Norbert Elias to Vance Packard and Pierre Bourdieu, starts from the presumption that goods are primarily appropriated as status symbols” (Gronow 1997, p.33). Packard (1960) sees consumers as “status seekers”, drawing on Veblen (1961), who argues that both economic value and leisure confer social status.

The sociology of taste, today perhaps a bit dated but still valid, has opened the way to studies on consumption like Bourdieu's, which are part of my theoretical framework. However, other social studies on consumption stem from the idea that consumers are status-seekers, even when these studies refer to postmodernism and the explosion of consumerism from the 1980s on. Bauman (1990-1991) argues that in our society, people are pushed to consume more than they actually need. Focusing on food, Levenstein (1988) analyses how food habits in the USA are affected by the scientific approach to nutrition. As a result, healthy foods are marketed by the industry, because “health sells too” (Gronow 1997, p.114). De Solier (2013) finds that the responsible and concerned shopping of foodies is similar to elite-tourism and in contrast to the traditional, non-aware shopping at the supermarket. These studies on exclusive shopping have strong links to Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) culinary capital, which is frequently provided by organic and healthy foods (see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Strong (2011) interestingly bridges the gap between eating practices and the sociology of taste. For him, taste is 'an essential property or a received experience – taste signifying both the “message” and its “reception”, a cause and an effect' (Strong 2011, p.x). The collection of essays that he introduces is entirely devoted to the

investigation of the relationships between these two elements that are frequently defined by the same word, taste.

Other studies on taste (Peterson and Simkus 1992; Peterson and Kern 1996) testify to the fact that a part of this snobby consumption (also termed high-brow) in the 1990s turned into a more quantitative consumption, paving the way to cultural omnivorousness, already seen in this chapter (Warde et al. 2008; Warde and Gayo Cal 2009), and is a concept that is part of my theoretical framework (see Chapter 3). Finally, this diversification does not only apply to consumption, but also to production. Consequently, the old, monolithic cultural industry has given way to multiform and plural cultural industries (Inglis and Hughson 2003), which sometimes give up their supranational roles by operating on local scale and assuming the role of the “glocal” agent (Stewart 2014, pp.162-9). Broadly speaking, this thesis is certainly part of the sociology of taste, as it argues that TV programmes offer the viewers the opportunity to acquire status. Through the theorisation of national culinary capital, this thesis adds that we must look at the nation to find out why this happens, and identifies the nation as the field that strongly contributes to the construction of food taste. After sociology, in the next subsection I review works relating to individual issues relating to food.

Food as Individual Choice

Some strands of research focus on the deepest areas of our minds and souls to discover the underlying bases for our relationships to food. Clearly, this is a really distanced approach from this thesis, and for this reason I review a few books here from this strand only in order to give a more complete idea of the broader scenario of food studies.

Psychology, philosophy and other disciplines consider food choices to be affected by individual rather than social issues. Rozin (1987) analyses the relationship between sweetness, sensuality and sin. In the human mind, sugar is associated with sin and danger for three reasons: 1) because sugar is often associated with coffee, tea and alcohol, self-indulgent substances par excellence; 2) because the puritan religion

taught us that what is pleasant is often dangerous; 3) because sugar causes obesity, and obesity is today deemed a sin.

Masson (2009), a food researcher but significantly also a psychoanalyst, underlines the psychological detachment with which we split meat from the living animal, and lists all the techniques that we use to separate the two images in our minds. Among these methods there is 'splitting': "We can say that there are good farms and bad farms, and refuse to have anything to do with the latter. But it is still a defence mechanism" (Masson 2009, p.162). Splitting is also Jonathan Safran Foer's (2009) individual strategy when he faces this issue. He finds in fact two kinds of meat: ethical meat, which is obtained from animals that lived well; and unethical meat, obtained instead from factory farmed animals. Telfer (1996) finds that people who work in the food system play an important role in forming people's relationships to food, and that they also have important ethical duties, a sort of moral contract that cannot be ignored. After focusing on individual issues raised by food, in the next subsection I review literature on the interrelation between the nation and food, another key point of this work.

National Food Culture

The interrelations between food and the nation are central to this thesis and are also at the base of other studies. More precisely, some scholars have focused on national food culture, the way in which a culture may be defined as 'national' and different from those of the other countries. More closely related to this work, some researchers have centred on food, theorising the existence of national food culture. What links this thesis to these studies is that we all consider the nation as affecting the relationships between people and food.

Thus, while anthropologists like Lévi-Strauss focus their works on food cultures in tribes and ethnic groups, other scholars, such as Goody (1982) and Mennell (1996), try to identify national food cultures. As with the nation, national food culture is considered to be either given or constructed. Functionalist and developmentalist approaches do not consider nations as constructed entities, and the same can be said

for national food culture. This is the case of the Greenwood Press series on national food culture around the world. I will review two of these books below, Parasecoli (2004) and Mason (2004), in that they are dedicated to food culture in Italy and in Britain respectively. The approach of the whole series, however, is displayed in the series foreword, in which the series editor considers nations as simply containers of local and regional foods and food habits (Albala 2004), and not as constructed entities resulting from processes of inclusion/exclusion, often linked to ideology, as I argue in this thesis.

The constructed nature of national food cultures is instead evident in the theory of the anthropologist Appadurai (1988), who considers Indian cookbooks as the basis of Indian food culture. The people who write and read these cookbooks are a cosmopolitan middle-high class. Women play a fundamental role in passing recipes from one to another until their recipes are noticed by cookbook authors (Appadurai 1988). Appadurai finds that this constructed food culture has a fundamental social role, because it trespasses divisions that other Indian social constructions strictly respect. Like many cultural studies scholars, Appadurai believes that all of this has hegemonic aims, as “the publishing industry, catering industry, food industries, and the commercial sector in agriculture all have something to gain from the new culinary developments in Indian cities” (1988, p.10).

Heldke (2003; 2005), a philosopher specialising in food, points out that if national cultures are constructed, we must scrap every notion of authenticity, because it is a constructed and ideology-related element, aimed at exploiting the Other (Heldke 2003). Echoing Barthes's (1972) essay *Steak and Chips*, she argues that we like Other's food because it is new, and not because we want to discover other cultures. Authenticity may lie in local food cultures, but never in the constructed national food culture, as “can we place any faith in a *South* Indian restaurant that serves naan – a *North* Indian wheat bread?” (Heldke 2003, p.29).

One of the works closest to this thesis is Belasco (2002). Belasco, a historian among the acknowledged founders of food studies, argues that in relation to the nation, “food means power, power means food. And power means conflict, even violence.

Many of the world's wars may be viewed as a series of colossal food fights” (2002, p.4).

Belasco is part of my theoretical framework also for his complex view on national food cultures:

When speaking of national cuisines, the axiom often conjugates in 'we are what we eat'. But who is this collective 'we'? Do we define a national cuisine by bioregion? By foodshed? By arbitrary lines on an inaccurate map? What if those lines keep changing? How many people does it take to comprise a 'we'? And in what context? As voters? As soldiers? As cooks? Customers? (Belasco 2002, p.11)

Finally, Belasco points out that national cultures are contradictory and ever-changing, to the extent that he concludes that fast food “may be the only honest, contextually appropriate cuisine for our tribe” (Belasco 2002, p.13). Only by reading these short quotations is it clear that Belasco's work starts from assumptions that are shared by this thesis. However, his study is only the introduction to a book gathering examples of national food culture, and lacks theoretical strength and a broader structure supporting his assumptions. This is exactly what this thesis adds to this kind of existing literature. The concept of national culinary capital, in fact, allows me to take a deeper look at the relationships between the nation and food culture, and to observe deeper relationships between the fields involved in this relationship.

One of the clearest works on national food cultures is Wilk's (2002) study on the construction of Belizean cuisine. Belizean food culture was actually generated in the US, when Belizean immigrants in the major American cities opened bars and restaurants serving “Belizean rice and beans” (p.81). Paradoxically, only “in 1990 the first self-proclaimed Belizean restaurant in Belize was opened by a couple that had just returned from living in Los Angeles for twenty years” (p.84). The construction of a national food culture, for Wilk, always has a political origin, as “only in the 1980s did the government actively promote some kinds of local food” (p.81). In conclusion, Wilk finds that:

One version of national food was developed in America by Belizeans for Americans; another was developed partly by Americans in Belize, for Belizeans; but a third version of Belizean food ... developed by Belizeans and foreign entrepreneurs to feed foreign tourists with a taste for something authentically Belizean (Wilk 2002, p.84).

In relation to food and the nation, other researchers have focused on the ideologies that this interrelationship produces. The nutritional scientist Fieldhouse points out that the principal food ideologies are ethnocentrism and cultural relativism. Ethnocentrism is

... the belief that one's own patterns of behaviour are preferable to those of all other cultures. ... As a corollary to this, foreign cultures are viewed as being wrong or irrational or misguided. ... So, the French are 'frogs', the Germans are 'krauts', the Italians are 'spaghetti eaters' and the British 'Limesy' (Fieldhouse 1995, 31).

Cultural relativism means that "there aren't really any universal standards of behaviour against which everybody should be judged ... We may also realize that our own food practices could seem irrational or disgusting from the vintage point of another culture" (Fieldhouse 1995, p.32). These two categories are among the lenses through which I have analysed the two programmes, especially in relation to my secondary research question on 'the Other'.

Today, each discourse on the nation involves globalisation. Even national food culture may be analysed through the ways globalisation overshadows the nation and affects our food choices. For the sociologists Inglis and Gimlin (2010) 'plural' is the key-word to frame food globalization, as unidirectional processes do not fit into the multifaceted reality of the global world. The first question with a plurality of answers is the birthdate of food globalization, identified in turn in the techno-innovations of the 1970s and 1980s, in the end of Soviet Union, in the Industrial Revolution, and even in 1492 or in the ancient age (Inglis and Gimlin 2010). The globalization of

food has been analysed from different points of view. Sometimes they centre on the power of the nation and its companies; other times they analyse how food relates to diaspora and displacement. In the name of plurality, the authors conclude that “choosing any one general approach ... would mean that one would be missing vast swathes of reality” (Inglis and Gimlin 2010, pp.7-8).

Back et al. (2012), in analysing food globalisation, explain that globalisation reinforces local identities and beliefs, and invents new forms of tradition. But why create tradition? Because traditional foods in a local context with clear links to the common past reassure those who are displaced in the globalised world (Back et al. 2012). Paradoxically, then, tradition helps globalization. “But the great irony here is that food that is presented as truly 'local' and 'authentic' is often itself a product of long-term globalization processes” (Back et al. 2012, p.188).

Finally, another strand of research on food and the nation focuses on political economy, a perspective also shared by this thesis. McIntosh underlines that “the state has used food to increase its power and to control the behavior of its citizens” (1996, p.195). The geographers Atkins and Bowler (2001) highlight the importance of the political economy of food and identify three periods of food regimes, in which nation-states and supra-nations play their hegemonic roles:

PERIOD	FOOD REGIME
Pre - 1914	Each nation rules its agri-industrial system
1947-1970s	The US plays a geopolitical hegemony
1980s - present	The EU plays an equivalent role to the US and replaces the single nations

Table 1: Food Regimes (Based on Atkins and Bowler 2001, pp.25-9.)

“The boldest criticism of the food regimes concept has come from Goodman and Watts (1994) and Moran et al. (1996) ... In their view the concept seriously underplays national variations” (Atkins and Bowler 2001, p.33).

Supra-national organizations are the focus of many studies, and I review them related to Italy and Britain below. Generally, many authors find current food regulations “multiple, complex, overlapping and often contradictory ... created by national governments, transnational economic-political bodies ... agricapitalist organizations themselves and international agreements and treaties associated with organizations such as WTO, GATT and the United Nations' Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)” (Inglis and Gimlin 2009, p.19).

This subsection has reviewed literature on the interrelationships between the nation and food. I have centred on studies linked to my thesis to varying degrees, from those adopting a functionalist conception of national food culture to those focusing on the nation as a powerful institution affecting citizens' taste and life. Certainly, the second group is closer to the assumptions of this thesis but, as in other cases, I argue that showing different points of view may also help understand the whole scenario. As said many times, this thesis centres on three elements, the nation, food and TV. The next subsection focuses on this third key element, and on how it links to the others.

Media Studies on Food TV

The term ‘media studies’ implies the same flexibility as ‘food studies’ and the same involvement of different disciplines like humanities, social sciences, politics, economics and “great overlaps with newer disciplines and interdisciplines such as cultural studies, popular culture studies, film studies, American studies, journalism, communications, speech communication, education, and ethnomusicology, to name a few” (Valdivia 2003, p.1). In this section, I only focus on studies linking television to food that do not pertain to Italy or Britain, while media studies on Italian and British food television are reviewed below, in the sections concerning Italy and Britain respectively.

Studies on food TV are copious and varied, and so it is necessary to be selective. In this section, I start from those that are closer to this research because they not only link TV to food, but also relate to specified nations. After this, I briefly review

literature less directly linked to this thesis, firstly on food TV production and finally on food TV consumption.

Diverse studies have focused on the analysis of national food televisions. In regards to the US, a lot of literature focuses on *The Food Network*, the American TV channel entirely dedicated to food. For Ketchum, the channel “offers viewers particular types of pleasure, all of which are linked to consumption. However, this means that serious issues regarding food are neglected” (2005, p.218). Gender is instead the lens through which Swenson (2009) analyses *The Food Network*. She compares *ThrowDown! with Bobby Flay* (Flay 2006) to a boxing match and cooks of many programmes to athletes. The kitchen has always been a gendered space, in which the man is allowed to inhabit only to seduce and ‘capture’ women (Swenson 2009). For Weisberg (2003), this channel was the watershed between old and new food television. Krishnendu Ray argues, instead, that an interesting new cook is Rachael Ray. After having discussed macho-cooks playing with knives, he notes that Rachael Ray plays the role of the woman who is not a super-chef but a woman who cooks as many people do at home (Rogers 2010).

When analysing Australian food TV, De Solier (2008) demonstrates that public television in Australia seeks a more refined viewer among foodies (De Solier 2008) through complex strategies, in which institutions, festivals, councils and other public subjects team up to achieve the goal of “a new relationship between the state, citizens, and food” (De Solier 2008, p.77). In an interview, Ray argues that novelties in food TV regard countries such as India and South Korea, while Western TV continually tends to replicate the same format (Rogers 2010). For Miller (2002), in the US, processed food and television have common roots, as frozen dinners started being sold in the 1950s to be consumed while watching TV. For him, instead, today food TV only serves the interests of global companies and political trends.

Other media studies on food do not focus on the nation, but on food shows which are somehow 'extreme'. Interestingly, in these shows, food has the opposite role in comparison to the national travelogues that I analyse, and I review these studies just to underline their opposite aims. These shows must surprise the audience and show

an unknown side of the nation or of reality in general. Retzinger analyses TV when representing the extreme side of food, and investigates another way of showing food on TV, as with *Dirty Jobs* (Rowe 2005), hosted by Mike Rowe on Discovery Channel. The programme tells the story of people who do difficult and uncomfortable jobs often related to food. Farmers, ranchers, grape pickers, pineapple peelers, and pig farmers challenge the 'art' of the celebrity chefs by showing a darker side of the food system (Retzinger 2010).

Food porn is a relatively new journalistic label, and on TV it aims to enchant the viewer. Used for the first time in 1979, this term “generally evokes the unattainable: cooks will never achieve the results shown in certain cookbooks, magazines, or television shows, nor will they ever master the techniques” (McBride 2010, p.38). The reason for the success of the term seems clear, as Madison advances that the name food porn is used to attract members of the audience (McBride 2010). Ray even doubts that such a thing exists, and is suspicious of the huge consensus that this term has gained in academia (McBride 2010). Goldfarb argues that food porn people “are the ones who have replaced the act of cooking with the act of watching” (McBride 2010, p.45). Linked to food porn is Retzinger’s (2008) research on fast food ads, in which unreal food draws the attention of the viewer, but is ultimately unattainable for normal people and is only useful for commercial interests.

Gender is a key issue of my thesis and a recurrent lens through which food TV is analysed. Attwood (2005) underlines that in the domestic environment, in many food shows the woman is stereotyped as an angel, while the man is stereotyped as the sensitive, masculine chef. Parry (2010), instead, focuses on gendered images of slaughter in popular food shows. Other gender issues raised by food TV are analysed below, in relation to the more precise contexts of Italy and Britain.

Another interesting issue is the relationship between food media and dominant ideologies. Seldom do the media follow dominant ideologies; in fact, sometimes they challenge them. Interestingly, it is often the internet, and not TV, that takes this approach. De Solier (2010) focuses on three different settings in which molecular gastronomy may be studied. The first is a scientific laboratory, with science being the

real reason why this kind of cooking was invented. In fact, molecular cuisine was created to test the effective value of traditional and popular culinary assumptions, such as grandmother's tips. The second place in which the author analyses molecular gastronomy is 'el Bulli', the multi-award winning Spanish restaurant run by Ferran Adrià. Like a researcher, Adrià experiments with chemical ingredients. But it is the third place in which De Solier comes across molecular gastronomy that wrong-foots the reader. In a simple Canadian home, a computer programmer, Rob, replicates molecular gastronomy's experiments, prepares spherical ravioli after buying sodium alginate and dangerously transporting liquid nitrogen by car. For De Solier, Rob debunks the sacredness of molecular cuisine.

Consumption is not a focus of this thesis. However, I review a few studies that shed light on the issues that it raises. Adema (2000) notes that people watch food TV to eat without eating, to visually consume high-calorie foods that cannot be eaten due to our concern about our figure and our health. Children's consumption is one of the most frequent topics of media studies, but these works are often related to advertising and its influence on childhood obesity, which are areas not linked to this study. Griffith et al. (1994) ask if food TV and other food media are actually educational for people who watch it. They show that only 20 per cent of cookbooks were noticed to contain health and hygiene information, and that on TV, celebrity chefs hardly wash their hands before cooking. Finally, Ballam et al. (1993) witnesses the experiment where in a class, pupils are requested to create a cookery show. The questions the children had to answer are the same as those of every TV writer, (e.g. How does the presenter act? What is the camera work like? Is the show name good?). The course was taken seriously, so at the end of the whole process "when I watched the video with the pupils a Hollywood silence took over the classroom" (Ballam et al. 1993, p.2).

This section has reviewed studies on food TV. Given the multidisciplinary nature of the field, after a brief introduction I have focused on studies belonging to the various approaches forming food studies, which are linked to this thesis to varying degrees. By focusing therefore upon functionalism, structuralism, cultural studies and other

perspectives, I have given the idea of the multifaceted nature of the discipline. I have also analysed the interactions between food and the nation and between food and TV; furthermore, I have also centred on literature investigating the production and consumption of TV shows. As in other cases in this chapter, some literature that I have reviewed does not pertain to this thesis directly, but offers the opportunity to gain a more complete perspective of the whole scenario of the field. The next sections of this chapter review literature on the nation, food and TV in relation to Italy and Britain respectively.

Italy: The Nation and National Culture

The present section pulls together studies on the nation, food and TV in Italy. This literature is relevant to this thesis because it provides pieces of concrete information on how these concepts have been developed in this country and have also affected its national food culture.

Italy only became a unified nation in 1861, apart from Rome, which remained in the hand of the papacy. Before this date, the Italian land had been occupied by many small states, often made up of just a city and often waging war on each other. Interestingly, the problem of building the nation (Anderson 1983) and inventing traditions (Hobsbawm 2012) immediately emerged. The first speech that King Vittorio Emanuele addressed to the Parliament strongly referred to the “natural” origin of Italy (James 1996, p.61), even though Italy had never been unified before, Romans apart. In fact, Italy was only unified at the institutional level, and Massimo D’Azeglio coined the popular phrase “we have made Italy: now we must make Italians” (cited in James 1996, p.62).

The weakness of the Italian state was linked to the lack of a unified Italian culture. The country was split into two parts, the rich north and the poor south, which did not communicate to each other, even because of the lack of roads and infrastructures. Paradoxically, these two parts commercialised more with other countries than with each other (Banti 2006). The lack of communication was together the cause and effect of the poor state of the educative system. Only 2.5 per cent of people within

Italy could speak Italian, and localism and regionalism were deemed much more important than national sentiments (James 1996).

In 1870, Rome became part of the nation, and was declared the capital of the state in 1871, but the lack of unity worsened. Montanari (2009) argues that while in France, England and later Spain there was a political entity representing the concept of nation already in the Middle Ages, in Italy it did not exist. After centuries of belonging to the papacy, in fact, Rome did not show any interest in being part of a larger community. The city had long considered the other parts of Italy as enemies, and continued to hold this approach. In the end, the new bureaucratic apparatus of the state showed its cupidity in concentrating all the power and money in the city (Salsano 2012).

After about fifty years of weakness of the Italian state and of consequent lack of a unified national culture, Italy found both elements, but in the most shocking way imaginable. As often happens, in fact, a dictatorship filled the void created by the lack of state and national culture (Van Steen 2015). In 1922, the socialist politician Benito Mussolini took power violently. The fascist dictatorship lasted about twenty years, built a solid, but violent state, and constructed a unified national culture based on conservative, male chauvinistic and racist ideologies (Gentile 2004), also allying with Nazism. A powerful propaganda spread over the idea of Italian superiority over other nations. Sadly, the first unifying idea of national culture that the Italians got to know was the Fascist one, and many of its elements would remain intrinsically linked to the concept of 'being Italian'.

It was in those years that Antonio Gramsci (1964), who was imprisoned for his aversion to Fascism, elaborated his theory of popular culture as opposed to the Fascist one. To sum up, for Gramsci popular culture is fundamental in the construction of a nation and of a national identity, but he realised that in Italy, it has never served this purpose.

After fascism, from 1946 to 1992, the Italian state was governed by *Democrazia Cristiana*, a Catholic party which tried to detach the country from Fascism and instead build on Catholic values. For Raimondi (1998), national identity in Italy

became almost a taboo. In fact, this concept had been stressed by fascism with terms like *patria*, 'patriotism' and 'nation'. New politicians gave up those terms and instead built the new Italy around other concepts like 'collaboration', 'togetherness' and 'hope'. This also led to an alliance between Catholics and the left wing, as opposed to fascism. Chapter 5 gives an account as to how this alliance has affected food culture and food TV so far. However, elements such as mistrust of the Other, male chauvinism and racism still resisted. When in 1992 the system of *Democrazia Cristiana* fell for the numerous scandals related to bribery and corruption, the new right-wing led by the entrepreneur Silvio Berlusconi replaced it. Berlusconism is analysed in this thesis in Chapter 5, but what is important here is to underline that the involvement of the neofascists in Berlusconi's government led to a recycling of the Fascist idea of culture above mentioned (Moliterno 2000). Words such as 'identity' and 'patriotism' are still used today, mostly by these far right-wing politicians, with the mistrust of the Other, male chauvinism and racism still frequent in Italian political and cultural lives. As I demonstrate in Chapter 5 and 6, food is of primary importance to support these ideologies.

For all these reasons, Livolsi (2011) finds the Italian national identity 'difficult', arguing that perhaps Italians have never been one people. Finally, for Livolsi a new awareness of 'being Italians' may also stem from the new media. While mainstream television, with its 'trashy' programmes, homogenized everything, new media, thematic channels and more specialized messages may contribute to a deeper reflection about who Italians really are.

In the 1990s, the concept of identity was re-discovered but in a local and regional sense, rather than on the national scale. Echoing Billig (1995), Giaccardi (1998) argues for a 'weak' national identity, in contrast to the old concept of a strong and deep one. Finally, Nevola (2003) raises the problem of the 'special' regions (Sicily, Sardinia, Trentino Alto Adige, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Valle d' Aosta) that rely on a sort of devolution, which allows them to create special laws and to be more independent of the state. Nevola (2003) argues that these laws have helped them feel somehow 'different' from the rest of the state, not encouraging feelings of national

identity. An important version of national culture is certainly national food culture, which I analyse in the next subsection.

Italian Food Culture

When Italy was unified in 1861, the problem was to construct a unique food culture. Historians Capatti and Montanari (2003) point out that Italy constructed its national food culture around the publication of Pellegrino Artusi's (1895) *La Scienza In Cucina* (science in the kitchen), a collection of regional recipes that incorporates dishes from bigger cities and some regions. The relevance of Artusi's work has been long lasting, and in Chapter 6, I analyse how Vissani's analysed show visits almost all the regions included by Artusi and neglects many of them ignored by the writer. The fixed nature of Italian food culture challenges the Anglo Saxon perspective that once constructed, national cultures undergo processes of inclusion/exclusion, are ever-changing and in a state of flux (Schlesinger 1991; Hall 1992; Johnson 1993). The difference between a more static Italy and a more dynamic Britain is evident throughout this thesis, and this difference is highlighted in the concluding chapter. In Italy, 'residual' and 'emergent' foods, regions, food habits and characteristics have always negotiated their presence in the national food culture, in order to (temporarily) delimit its boundaries. This has happened to a lesser degree than in Britain, and the situation has remained more static than in Britain.

In Italian food culture, among these long-lasting characteristics, one is certainly the simplicity and naturalness of food, while more complex dishes have been considered to be the result of a process of forgery (Capatti and Montanari 2003). Another characteristic is the belief that cooking is not a technique, but a personal inclination. Even preserved products in Italy are sold not completely cooked, still needing an individual touch (Capatti and Montanari 2003). What is more, the woman is the centre of the family and the subject which every discourse on food revolves around (Barzini 2006). Finally, even the concept of passing on recipes is affected by elements like simplicity and the family and involves personal and intimate emotions (Parasecoli 2004).

In the twentieth century and on, after the restrictions of the world wars, western countries have improved their standards of living, and some countries have undergone a technological process, with food more and more processed and preserved. Instead, Italy became famous around the world for its simple, natural food (Capatti and Montanari 2003), but this somehow condemned the country to an enduring stereotype. Italian products therefore have become a symbol of naturalness and tradition, the most popular means to promote Italy around the world. This naturalness and exclusivity are exactly reproduced, and stereotyped, in the sacred culinary capital that I find in Chapter 5 and in the Italian show that I analyse in Chapter 6. There is even a sort of linguistic revenge. Ironically, while in Italy many English words are part of everyday language, many Italian words referring to food have become global, enacting “the pizza effect” (Capatti and Montanari 2003, p.209).

Scholars coming from outside Italy have sometimes a more precise and less bewitched view of Italian food culture. Dickie (2007) does not call into question that Italian food has charisma, but also underlines the constructed character of many of its manifestations. Dickie's account is historical, and it is interesting to note that even in the past, from the Middle Ages to Fascism, food in Italy was a means to support ideology and to forget problems. In reading this study, it is easy to link the results of this thesis to what happened in other periods of Italian history. In a more recent study, Dickie (2013) goes on unveiling what hides behind the myth of Italian food, and interestingly analyses the criminal business linked to food that has flourished in Italy since the 1990s.

The 'pizza effect' owes much to Italian immigrants, and this links to the case of Belize as mentioned above. In the USA, Italian immigrants' diet was first considered weak and not protein-based enough. American social workers used to visit Italian communities in the USA to persuade people to change their diet (Parasecoli 2004; see also Levenstein 1985); but the alliance between Italy and the USA in WWI changed the perception of Italians and of their customs. In fact, from the 1930s on, American social workers stopped convincing the Italians to change their diet and

began learning from them (Levenstein 1985). American interest in the Mediterranean diet has been growing until today, as Willows et al. (2008) show the story of seventeen Canadian nutritional university students learning the Mediterranean diet in a small town of Southern Italy.

Finally, Beyers (2008) analyses the diet of a group of Italian miners in Belgium. At first, the Italian diet was considered unfit to feed miners in need of proteins (Beyers 2008). Later, curiosity and interest in Italians and Italian food grew, and “since the 1980s, the sober Mediterranean diet has become predominantly associated with health” (Beyers 2008, p.19). In Italy, ethnic cuisine is often neglected, also due to a kind of food nationalism that I analyse in Chapters 5 and 6. Immigrants tend to eat Italian food, while their dishes are often underrated by Italians (Parasecoli 2004). Fast food chains are also often seen negatively, and a campaign against McDonald's led to the birth of *Slow Food* (Parasecoli 2004), which will be analysed in Chapter 5. For Parasecoli, this new culture also affected industry, as “in Italy, especially in the 1980s and in the 1990s, many products were marketed as associated with the so-called good old days” (2004, p.35).

Besides advertising, the new culture has also involved politicians, and governments of both wings have always considered the 'safeguarding' of Italian food as a priority. When the EU established quality brands for its foods like PDO, IGT, etc., Italy was soon among the countries with the most registered products (Parasecoli 2004). By March 28th 2000, Italy was the EU country with the most PDO products (69), followed by Greece (58) and France (52), while the UK registered just 13 products (European Commission, 2000). In 2012, Italy was ranked first in the world for registered products (Gasparetti 2012). I believe that this ranking testifies to the attention that each country gives to its national culture, and may be useful for my comparison between Italy and Britain.

While Anglo-Saxon studies on eating-out focus on consumption, Italian studies centre on restaurant owners and workers. Capatti and Montanari (2003) and Parasecoli (2004) pay homage to *trattorie*, the Italian family-run restaurants that challenge the traditional gender roles in the kitchen, as in those restaurants women

cook and men serve. “The female cook is the embodiment of two different souls: that of the scullery maid refashioned by the social system and that of the busy, frugal housewife who is herself willing to take pots and pans in hand” (Capatti and Montanari 2003, pp.237-8). Related to this, professional chefs in Italy “are often considered old-fashioned and unhip” (Parasecoli 2004, pp.125-6). In Chapter 5, as in Buscemi (2014b), I demonstrate that the *trattoria* became a model for much of Italian food TV during Berlusconi, providing a new role for the woman on TV without freeing her from her kitchen duties.

Rebora’s work on the history of food in Europe confirms that Italy has constructed a proper identity of food. Albert Sonnenfeld, the English translator of the book, finds sixty different Italian words to say what in English simply means “sausage” (Rebora 2001, p.IX). “The book sees fork as a symbol of civilisation” (Rebora 2001, p.16). Echoing Harris and his links between nutritional elements and social food habits, Rebora finds that the production of cheese in Europe is geographically linked to the spread of lactose intolerance (Rebora 2001). In 1984, the American anthropologist Carole Counihan went to Bosa, a village in one of the least developed areas in Sardinia, far from the well-known and touristic coasts. She observed the arrival of a big shopping centre in a place where, previously, bread production roles were assigned by gender. Men cultivated wheat and women made bread, which was shared by the entire community (Counihan 1997). After starting to buy bread at the shopping centre, it was consumed individually and women lost their power to make room for “the modernization without development” (Counihan 1997, p.283). In Fabris’s (2009) sociological analyses of Italians’ relationships with modern food, he finds that 77 per cent of Italians eat at home at midday and consider ‘good food’ as healthy rather than tasty dishes (Fabris 2009). Finally, national food culture also affects the political approach to food in a nation. The next subsection reviews literature on this topic.

Policies and Politics

Italian politics and policies on food are divided between the safeguard of a food considered to be superior, and the concern for pollution and extreme industrialisation, as I also find in Chapter 5. MacMaolàin (2007) analyses food controversies between the EU and Italy. Almost all the listed controversies regard the safeguarding of authentic Italian products, like olive oil, durum wheat pasta, vinegar and Parma ham (MacMaolàin 2007).

Food safety, in Italy, means the safeguarding of typical produce rather than fighting against food safety risks. Rosati and Saba (2004) show that in Italy 32 per cent of people have never heard of genetically engineered food, whilst 49 per cent are unaware of what irradiated food is. Modernity is deemed to be an enemy, with 27 per cent of Italians considering food from the past as safer than the present. Parasecoli (2004) underlines that there is also a military corp dedicated to safeguarding of typical products.

When asked about the most reliable sources of information, the Italians see consumer advocates and environmental associations as the most trustworthy, while politicians the least reliable (Rosati and Saba 2004). Petrini and Scaffidi (2009) focus on the major food-poisoning event in the second half of twentieth century, ‘vino al metanolo’ (methanol wine) in 1986. This event caused the deaths of 23 people (Pavone 2006), and was a tragic but useful shock therapy that awoke consumers from their torpor (Petrini e Scaffidi 2009). For Conti (2008) the problem is that Italy has never had a techno-food revolution not because of the attachment to traditions, but because of incapability. Food safety is also the central issue of the documentary *Biutiful Cauntri* (Calabria et al. 2007) focusing on the echo-business developed by the *camorra*, a criminal organisation that dumps toxic materials in the countryside. As a result, in the area around Naples, fruit and milk are often polluted. The same theme is the focus of a chapter of the bestseller *Gomorra* (Saviano 2006), which shows how many Italian and European companies prefer to award a contract with the *camorra*, rather than with a regular company when they have to dispose of poisonous materials. All these elements make it clear that in Italy the relationships between

food and industry have never been easy, as also my theory of sacred food in Chapter 5 points out. To shed light on this, I review studies on the Italian food industry in the next subsection.

Industry

To better understand the economic side of Italian food culture, it is also important to review works on the food industry. Generally speaking, Italian industry is made up of small companies. 45 per cent of all Italian workers (more than double the European average) are employed in companies with less than ten workers (OECD 2002). The food industry does not differ. While in the UK in 2005 “four retailers have three-quarters of all sales ... in 2002 the top three retailers” in Italy had 32% (Lang et al. 2009, p.164). In the same year, in *The Financial Times'* world top-ten of food manufacturers, there were two UK companies and no Italian companies. Moreover, in the world top 30 food retailers, there were four UK companies and no Italian companies (Lang 2004).

Siano et al. (2010) investigated US and Italian food industry websites, providing interesting findings on the Italian food industry mentality. Italian companies provide customers with health “information ... linked to the wide and varied culinary traditions found in the Italian regions” (Siano et al. 2010, p.189). On the other hand, Italian websites neglect their investors (Siano et al. 2010).

De Bernardi identifies the milestone of the history of the Italian food industry, when in 1911, the Italian food industry was 20 per cent of the whole national industry. Today, contradictory surveys consider the food industry to be the first or the second sector of Italian industry (De Bernardi 2009). Finally, De Bernardi shows that in the 1970s the largest food company was owned by the state, and this underlines the political (and hegemonic) interests of food in Italy.

Interestingly for this study, a paper of the British Consulate in Milan warned British food producers who were willing to sell their food in Italy, that Italians did not love frozen foods (British Consulate Milan 1987). The safeguarding of Italian food is also

the principal aim of Slow Food, whose role in the Italian field is explained in Chapter 5. The next subsection centres on literature on Italian food TV.

Studies on Italian Food TV

As written in the introduction, there are only a few studies on Italian food TV. This may be explained by the fact that food TV in Italy is a relatively new genre. Apart from the shows of the 1950s and 1970s which I focus on in Chapter 5, just a few programmes in Italy were dedicated to food in the past. The genre has only grown since the 1990s and only since the 2000s did many satellite channels have translated or dubbed British and American shows. Consequently, even studies analysing food shows have scarcely appeared. At present, however, many student dissertations focus on the topic (for example in the Department of the University of Milan where I teach), and probably in the next few years the topic will become a more frequent focus of academic studies.

Parasecoli, an Italian food studies scholar teaching in New York, points out that, in Italy, food television tends not to change as it does in Britain. In the 1970s and 1980s, food TV related to a mythical past, and this approach still exists (Parasecoli 2004). Blythman, linking Italy and France, notes that in these countries cooks are not stars and that “food has a much lower profile in the media... When chefs appear on French and Italian television ... they simply stand up, demonstrate a recipe and leave it at that” (2006, p.12). Finally, in another study, I have analysed the figure of the woman in three popular Italian food shows, finding connections to the figure of the woman in the *trattorie*, traditional Italian family-run restaurants (Buscemi 2014b).

Bucchi (1999) analyses how Italian TV frames worrying cases of food-poisoning. In the case of methanol wine, in 1986, Bucchi finds that the largest coverage occurred when the Prime Minister announced measures against the affected product. He points out that more than the health emergency, Italian TV showed political points of view on it and economic effects, like decreasing sales and threats against the ever celebrated ‘made in Italy’. In fact, victims’ relatives were almost never shown on TV and paradoxically, sometimes victims were considered responsible because they

bought such a cheap wine. But, inexplicably, Italians continued to buy methanol wine even after the scandal was reported on TV. The semiotician Eco argues that many Italians live outside of the information flux and were not aware of what was happening. Moreover, many Italians watch TV, but do not read newspapers or watch the news. Finally, and more worryingly, most of them cannot process the amount of information they receive or simply do not trust the media (Eco 1986). Over the last ten years, the most interesting works on this topic have been the television reviews by Aldo Grasso in the most popular Italian newspaper, *Il Corriere della Sera*, and other similar works in magazines and other newspapers.

This section has reviewed literature on Italian food culture to provide a broad idea of the Italian approach to food and its construction. This thesis believes that national food culture is a social construct, and I have therefore provided a wide scenario of Italian food culture, also involving issues related to politics and industry. However, the Italian approach to food is a relevant part of this thesis, and in Chapter 5, I draw on other studies to identify characteristics that are also present in the two analysed shows. The British scenario is very different, as the next section reviewing studies on the nation, food and TV in Britain demonstrates.

The Nation and National Culture in Britain

This section focuses on literature on the nation and nation-related concepts, food and food TV in Britain. On the nation, while in Italy literature has been affected by late unification and fascism, in Britain the co-existence of four 'nations' or ethnic groups (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) in one state (the UK) seems to constitute the most relevant issue. After a general overview, therefore, I analyse literature on Englishness, Scottishness and Welshness. Irishness is an important issue too, but this thesis only focuses on the first three areas, with Oliver's show being filmed on the island of Great Britain. Therefore, the complex and multifaceted relationships between Ireland and Britain are not considered part of this thesis.

Many difficulties are raised when one tries to analyse questions of identity in Britain, first of all, because we must agree on which identity, among the many, we refer to

(Nairn 1988). Olwig argues that in Britain there is the enduring unresolved issue of three different nations (England, Scotland, and Wales) led by one of them (England). To solve the problem, Britain is often represented as a natural entity because it is an island. Thus, presenting Britain as a natural product helps the British think of themselves as a nation (Olwig 2008).

As for British food culture, “the identity of Great Britain has, increasingly, to be placed and understood in terms of international developments and the ebb and flow of capital investment at international level” (Corner and Harvey 1991, p.13). Echoing Gramsci, Taylor (1997) argues that popular culture may contribute to the construction of a sense of nationality and national identity, and finds that the great novels of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from Walter Scott to Charles Dickens, have done this (Taylor 1997). One of the most debated issues in the UK's identity is the coexistence of four different entities, England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, in the same nation-state. I have already explained why Irishness is not an issue for this thesis. The other three, instead, are the focus of the next subsection.

Englishness/Scottishness/Welshness

Johnson (1993) points out that Englishness is based on a precise English accent, multiethnic food and rural landscapes and related food. Brennan (1990) finds that, in England, immigration after WWII changed the perception of being English, widening the concept.

Greenfeld (1992) instead explains that nationalism in England has always expressed a different meaning from that in Germany or Italy, because it related to democracy. Easthope (1999) considers present English identity as stemming from seventeenth century English empiricism. Like Easthope, Light (1991) also bases Englishness mostly on literary studies. Colley (1992) focuses more on the historical development of English identity.

Colls (2002) and Kumar (2003) instead, centre on the construction of English

identity. For Kumar, “the problem as so often has been the belief in an 'either-or' model, either Britishness or Scottishness, Britishness or Englishness” (2003, p.149), while for example India did not make this mistake.

Kumar (2003) finds Scottishness as identifiable in the Scottish Parliament and its varying degrees of powers, religion and independent law. Hearn finds that “Scottish national identity hangs in a constellation of overlapping and interpenetrating identities – British, Celtic, European, Western, working class ... which can be variously combined” (2000, p.11). As with already-cited works on English national identity, Gottlieb (2007) focuses on Scottish identity from a literary point of view. Davidson (2000) argues that Scottishness is a fundamental part of Britishness, and that Britishness will change the day when Scotland is no longer part of it, and this is certainly the point of view adopted by Oliver in his show, as I analyse in Chapter 7. On Welshness, Trosset (1993, p.6) argues “that ethnicity and nationalism can only be understood in terms of dominant notions of personhood. Wales, of course, is a nation without a state, but there are many of these in Europe”. Finally, even Irishness is a long-debated issue, but it is not part of this thesis that analyses a food show filmed exclusively in England, Scotland and Wales.

In this subsection, I have centred on literature focusing on British identity. I have highlighted differences from the Italian construction of the nation, and have underlined the complexity of British identity in relation to the coexistence of England, Scotland and Wales on the same island. In the next subsection, I instead review literature focusing on the British approach to food.

British Food Culture

Laura Mason emphasises that “the reaction of many people to the idea of a food culture of Great Britain is to question whether such a thing exists” (2004, p.IX). But if food culture is the approach that people have to food, then each nation must have it. Mason tries to summarise the British one in a few words:

British food is heavily industrialised and dependent on imports, both of raw ingredients and ideas. It is urban and metropolitan, dominated by London as a source of new ideas. ... British food lacks the subtlety of French cuisine and the robustness of Italian cooking but has developed a heavy emphasis on perceptions of food in relation to fashion, publishing, eating out, and health and safety. (Mason 2004, p.IX)

For Lang et al. (2009) and Civitello (2008), British food culture originates in the Industrial Revolution, exactly as Jamie Oliver argues in his show, and as I analyse it in Chapter 7. Mason (2004) finds that two of the key-words to analyse it are diversity and multiculturalism, agreeing that the nineteenth century was decisive, because it was during those years that new technologies were applied to food production and preservation. On media, she explains that British television originated in 1936 and was soon broadcasting food shows, presented by the restaurateur Marcel Boulestin. A relevant role is played by the BBC, which, besides the programmes, “publishes a magazine on the subject, organizes a national food and drink exhibition every year, and has a web site dedicated to food” (Mason 2004, p.115). Echoing Mary Douglas, Murcott finds that the British national dish is made up of “meat and two veg” (1992, p.284). The main meal is generally consumed at home and prepared by women. A good upbringing for children, gender roles, couples living together, family relationships, economic status and psychological stress may all influence food habits.

History is a good point of view from which to understand the British diet. Drummond and Wilbraham (1957) show the reader that the history of food in England from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century was actually a long fight against poverty. Only technology managed to improve food quality. Oddy and Miller (1976) and Burnett (1989) show the historical roots of many British foodstuffs. Echoing Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* (1991), Coveney (2006) finds surveys, medicine, discourses on health and demographic techniques as the means used by those in control to know more about the population. He finds that British food was affected by the “Protestant tradition ... [which] played a large role in the development of science and technology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” (Coveney 2006, p.58).

The editor of *The Good Food Guide*, Driver (1983), considers the pros and cons of multiculturalism. If it has broadened British culinary horizons, it also has fuelled “urban legends of cat bones in the curry and full grown Alsatians in the fridge” (Driver 1983, p.73). For Peckham, finally, British cuisine was born with colonialism, as is the case with potatoes and tea, two “national foods” (1998, p.180) coming from outside the borders. Colonialism has always been seen as central to shaping one of the most important British food characteristics, multiculturalism. I review literature on it in the next subsection.

Multiculturalism

Many foreign dishes are today considered British, as in the case of the Prince of Wales suggesting “basil and pine nut loaf and gnocchi with pesto, recipes of Italian origin” (Brennan 1998 cited in Ashley et al. 2004, p.77) for a book of British recipes. Many Indian dishes today have a British ‘passport’. In Britain, 23 million portions of Chicken Tikka Masala are bought every year in restaurants, 18 tonnes are sold ready to eat by supermarket chain M&S, and in 1999 Britain Chicken Tikka Masala was sold to India (Ashley et al. 2004). Jamal’s ethnographic observation of food consumption of British native people underlines that ethnic dishes broaden eaters’ knowledge of foreign words “even if they didn’t know their exact meaning” (1996, p.23). Acculturation, finally, raises risks of overacculturation, for example from “native English of Bradford, in terms of their eating spicier and hotter dishes than did the British Pakistanis in the UK” (Jamal 1996, p.23).

Panayi (2008) investigates how Greek immigrants in London eat, and Wheeler and Tan (1983) analyse 50 Chinese families in London, finding that children eat English food at school, and Chinese dishes at home, to balance out the two identities. Carlson et al. (1983) underline the problems of large immigrant populations when dealing with eating out. James (1997) analyses the relationships between ethnic novelties and British traditions, and highlights that in 1992 there were more Indian take-aways than fish and chip shops. However, he also underlines that in the 1990s, a counter process boosted the presence of traditional British food on the British table. Interestingly,

multiculturalism and traditional British food are at the base of the two forms of national culinary capital that I find in Oliver's show in Chapter 7. Again, I believe that my analysis cannot be detached from anthropological, historical and social elements of food culture. In reviewing Appadurai (1988), I have already demonstrated that cookbooks are a fundamental medium in spreading food culture. In the next subsection, I review cookbooks and literature on cookbooks in Britain, to find out how they have contributed to shaping British food culture.

Cookbooks

One of the most celebrated British cookbooks is *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (Beeton 2006), by Isabella Beeton, first published in 1861, "the most famous of Victorian cookery books" (Beetham 2003, p.17). Beeton invented the modern recipe's "format in which ingredients (by weight), method and cost followed each other" (Beetham 2003, p.21). In contrast, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, an art critic, in 1896 published *The Feasts of Autolycus* (Pennell 1896). For her, meals are high art and eating is "an act of intellectual appreciation" (Schaffer 2003, p.105). She replaces the word "cooking" with "designing", "inventing" and "planning" (Schaffer 2003, p.122), avoiding writing ingredients and proper recipes. From the 1950s on, *The Good Food Guide* has been the most reliable source of information on British restaurants. Connected to The Good Food Club, founded in 1950 by Raymond Postgate, *The Good Food Guide* was first published in 1951 (Rosen 2003), with Driver (whose works have been reviewed above) later taking over from Postgate.

The most important British cookbook author is certainly Elizabeth David. She lived in France, Italy, Greece and Egypt and in her early books *A Book of Mediterranean Food* (1950) and *Italian Food* (1954) she showed her love for Mediterranean cuisine (Floyd 2003). Moreover, David was writing in the period immediately after food rationing, when people started spending more money on food again (Jones and Taylor 2001). David also introduced culture in culinary discourse, linking dishes to writers and poets. Cultural interests led David to become the friend of another recipe-writer, Jane Grigson, an Italian translator married to the poet Geoffrey Grigson

(Jones and Taylor 2001). They were both critical of modernity and processed foods (Jones and Taylor 2001), which are also criticised by the theorists of the British food revolution. I review works on this in the next subsection.

British Revolution?

The word ‘revolution’ indicates the new approach to food that has pervaded Britain. A revolution that has even created new disciplines and jobs, like gastrosophy and gastrosopher, devoted to the pleasure and the intellectual values of food (Gillespie 2001). Harrison argues that every event of twentieth century Britain has helped the food revolution, including politics, wealth, commercial television, factory farming, internationalism and feminism (Harrison 1998). More critically, Blythman (2006) demonstrates that British people often do not actually have a table to eat on, mostly buying ready meals, and ignoring the links between food and health (Blythman 2006). Caraher et al. (1999) follow the same line, pointing out the problem of the lack of British cooking skills. Steel (2009, p.199) notes that Britain lacks a “‘vertical’ food culture... that permeates every stratum of society”.

Plotkin (2007) in a (negative) review of the British edition of *The Silver Spoon*, one of the most popular Italian cookbooks, draws a well-balanced portrait of the British revolution and considers new cafe chains like *Pret-a-Manger* and *Caffè Nero*, or gastropubs, as proof of improvement (Plotkin 2007). Either real or ‘chimera’, the British food revolution has shaped a new social class, foodies. Cairns et al. (2010) analyse gendered elements affecting foodies, while Johnston and Baumann (2010) analyse foodies in relation to social status and power.

The revolution has even brought an increase in vegetarianism, which has deep roots. Singer suggests that our language “by contrasting ‘humans’ and ‘animals’, denies that humans are animals” (Singer 1998, p.76), while animal rights advocates view animals on the same level of humans. Ashley et al. (2004), instead, argue that vegetarianism is sometimes ambiguous, and that many people claim to be vegetarians while eating fish or chicken. Finally, Adams (2010) finds eating meat to be a sign of masculine domination. In this subsection, I have reviewed studies on the

supposed British food revolution. I have centred on works on two opposite points of view, the first stating that a British revolution has actually occurred, and the second stating that it has been a 'false' revolution. However, what these studies fail to analyse, is a sort of political economy analysis of this revolution, which should focus on the ideologies and the kind of commercial interests underlying it. Recent debate over Starbuck's tax evasion in many countries would suggest a different analysis of the phenomenon; an analysis similar to that I put forward in this thesis in relation to food TV. As with Italy, reviewing literature on food policies and politics in Britain may add interesting elements to understanding the general approach of the nation to food. The next subsection is dedicated to these issues.

Policies and Politics

For Lang (1998), during the BSE epidemic, politicians were totally unprepared, while, paradoxically, retailers, worried about the economic losses, were more active in facing the problem. Food policy, according to Lang, involves everyone. "Everyone likes to think that they control what they eat. Consequently, when it can be shown that someone has been adulterating, or altering, or short-changing food, emotions can get heated" (Lang 1998, p.15). Food policy is "the decision-making that shapes the way the world of food operates and is controlled" (Lang and Heasman 2004, p.2). Since the 1990s, food policy has been changing, because retailing has replaced agriculture as the most remunerative food activity (Lang 1998). The new leaders are retailers, and today they are the dominant class in the food economic field (Lang and Heasman 2004).

Political institutions should be central in shaping a food policy, but Tansey argues that since the early 1980s, governments have let the market decide more and more, and the market today is determinant (Tansey 1994). Lauterburg (2001) explains the duties, functions and jurisdictions of bodies like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), World Health Organisation (WHO), and of the most important British public food body, the Food Standards Agency. Besides this, he analyses how the UK receives, and sometimes changes,

European Union laws on food. Finally, MacMaolàin's concern is in the relationships between the single member-nations and the EU, for example in labelling food, as:

... member States cannot impose these labelling requirements on producers from other Member States ... It is up to individual producers to follow their lead. ... In July 2006, 14 different signpost label types were identified, none of which were identical to the UK Food Standards Agency model label. (MacMaolàin 2007, p.235)

Harrison links British politicians' interest in food with populism. An example of this is the huge popularity achieved by John Major's breakfast in a Happy Eater restaurant (Harrison 1998), or the frequent publication of recipes by Norma Major and Cherie Blair in British magazines (Peckham 1998). Craig and Dowler (1997) focus on the problem of growing British poverty and the government's unprepared answers, despite charities' warnings. Steel argues that "our food may *seem* cheap, but ... one recent study by Essex University found that the annual cost of cleaning up the chemical pollution caused by British agriculture was £2.3 billion a year" (2009, p.48). Food industry is a topic which is strongly linked to food policies, and is the focus of the next subsection.

Food Industry

Atkins and Bowler (2001) show concentration as one of the main characteristics of the British food industry. Table 2 demonstrates that the four major food retailers in the UK already in 1998 together controlled more than 40% of the entire market:

Retailer	Share of grocery market (%)	
	1988	1998
Tesco	9.0	15.6
Sainsbury	10.2	12.6
Asda	4.7	8.7
Safeway	6.9	7.7

Table 2: British retailing (Based on Atkins and Bowler 2001, p.93, adapted from *The Guardian*, 19 March 1999, p.24).

Steel (2009) also notes differences between Britain and Italy, where small shops have long been protected by the law. British retailing also has its paradox, in that “at Sainsbury’s, Cox apples had to be between 60 and 90mm across and 30 per cent red, so that 12 per cent of perfectly good apples were rejected at source” (Steel 2009, p.267). Discarded apples end up being used to produce cider or ‘scrumpy’ (Proulx and Nichols 1997). 38 per cent of food and 95 per cent of fruit eaten in Britain comes from abroad (Steel 2009).

Oddy (2003) focuses on the rise of technology in Britain. In 1973, just 10.5 per cent of households had a freezer or deep-freeze, and in 1985, 95 per cent of households owned a refrigerator and 66 per cent a freezer. In 1990, 81 per cent of housewives used frozen peas. On obesity in Britain, Oddy advances that “in the 1990s, the multiple retailers came face to face with the ultimate and intractable problem of how to sell more food to people who wished to eat less” (2003, p.194). 6 per cent of men

were obese in 1980, 17 per cent in 1998. Obesity in women was at 12 per cent in 1986 and 21 per cent in 1998 (Oddy 2003). Finally, Beer et al. (2009) investigate the 'glocal' side of the British food industry, drawing several case studies among which there is an Asian entrepreneur in Shropshire, an ethnic website devoted to selling chilli pepper, and the revenge of traditional rhubarb in Western Yorkshire. The next subsection focuses on studies on food education.

Food Education

Food education is at the centre of the debate at every level, from primary school to higher education. Prue Leith (1998) underlines children's curiosity in the history of food and religious issues linked to taboos, but many studies focus on dis-education. Kortzinger et al. (1994) investigate how class and gender are linked to obesity. Their research on English children eating chocolate at school may be summarised with just one table:

Eating Chocolate at School	Upper Class	Middle Class	Working Class
Boys	10	55	90
Girls	40	60	100

Table 3: Chocolate consumption at school (Based on Kortzinger et al. 1994, p.12)

Contrastingly, James (1990, p.685) underlines the importance of chocolate and confectioneries in Britain, concluding that “an apple a day may keep the doctor away but it does little to promote social relationships”. Comfort foods were also tested among 264 undergraduate students (Locher et al. 2005). On professional education, Pratten and O’Leary investigate the shortage of chefs in the UK. Many students withdraw from professional classes because during the first year they “were confident that they would be successful restaurant chefs. Many felt that they could become television personalities” (Pratten and O’Leary 2007, p.71).

Tomlinson and Warde (1993) broadly analyse British food education. They start from the assumption that eating habits in Britain mirror social structure. In the British social attitude survey of 1989:

... twenty-eight per cent of respondents said they were 'fairly' or 'very' worried about the sorts of food they eat (Sheihan et al. 1990, p.147). This level ... is higher than in Sweden, but much lower than in the USA and Japan (Wandel 1994). Despite their concern, few of the worried British respondents were planning to alter their diet. (Warde 1997, p.81)

Why, then, do they not change their diet? He argues that “people are sceptical of the appropriateness of the advice offered by government and nutritional science” (Warde 1997, p.83). Finally, eating out is another field strongly affected by the class divide (Warde and Martens 1998). As with Italy, in the next subsection I review literature on British food TV.

Studies on British Food TV

Differently from Italy, there is a great amount of literature focusing on food television in Britain. Some of it is part of my theoretical framework, and here I review another part of it. The first characteristic highlighted by this literature is the abundance of food programmes, even on different channels during the same time-slots. Steel (2009) simply describes how on December 19th 2005, two simultaneous

programmes on BBC2 and Channel 4 gave the viewer two opposite views of Christmas dinner, one based on exclusive and organic foods, the other criticising the low quality of food sold for Christmas in the mass market. In these studies, one of the central topics is the figure of the celebrity chef. Gillespie finds that after the 1980s, British food TV was revolutionised by new celebrity chefs, who “made food more than a mere distraction” (2001, p.8). Many studies centre on celebrity chefs in general, not only in Britain. Drawing on Debord, Hansen points out that “celebrity chefs, in short, create an appetite for consumption that can never be satisfied” (2008, p.50). Hyman focuses on the relationships between chefs and consumers. Chefs:

... are servants, on call for diners, but at the same time that they are artists, savants, gifted and famous creators who own their power. And this, in turn, creates a problem not only for the superstar chef, but for the diners who fill their restaurants. (Hyman 2008, p.46)

Wright and Sandlin see cooking shows as a political issue and start from Chomsky, considering “cooking shows as cultural products encoded with meanings that help shape audiences’ identities, lifestyles, and relationships to consumer culture” (2009, p.402); for example, bridging the gap between the programme and the commercials (Wright and Sandlin 2009). Oddy (2003) is critical of the TV chef for more ‘culinary’ reasons, because they almost never cook 'real' dishes of the British tradition.

Hollows (2003b, p.230) analyses the early Jamie Oliver of *The Naked Chef* and considers him to be “a powerful brand used to sell videos, DVDs, an album and live tour dates, alongside tableware and cookware”. Moreover, the show displays Jamie's masculine but not sexist lifestyle. Seven years later, Hollows and Jones (2010b) analyse the 'new' Jamie Oliver, who has radically changed his image, becoming a ‘social’ chef using cuisine to sort out social issues. Finally, in *Jamie’s Ministry of food* (Oliver 2008) “Jamie suggests that culinary skills could be passed on” (Hollows and Jones 2010b, p.310). In conclusion, Oliver’s new course has, for the authors, only commercial reasons.

Analysing *Jamie's School Dinners* (Oliver 2005a), Leggott and Hochscherf (2010) point out that the show mixes diverse genres to embody a modern reality show. From a political point of view, “these shows would seem to imply that socialism is a spent force and that the deserving poor must perform to survive” (Leggott and Hochscherf 2010, p.54). Finally, they find Oliver in opposition to Blair, who had talked of Britain as a class-free society. “*Jamie's School Dinners* – and *Jamie's Ministry of food* - provides clear evidence of the persistence of class-related anxieties in the British cultural imagination” (Leggott and Hochscherf 2010, p.59).

Nigella's femininity is instead the focus of Andrews, as:

... *Nigella Bites* offers not the nostalgia of an imaginary world when women's place was in ... the kitchen, but an image of a post-feminist world where women can have it all: the public spheres of the work and the private spheres of children and partner. (Andrews 2003, p.197)

The avant-garde chef Heston Blumenthal is the focus of Hollows and Jones (2010a). At first, Blumenthal's programmes were a mix of didactic cookery shows and scientific programmes from the 1960s and 1970s. After leaving the public service, *Heston's Feasts* (Blumenthal 2009) for Channel 4 reproduce magical feasts in four particular eras: the Victorian, the Middle Ages, the Tudor period, and the Roman age. Hollows and Jones find that “*Feasts* also places strong emphasis on the visual pleasures of cuisine, though the pleasures tend to be those of illusion and theatricality rather than the naturalistic depiction of gastro-porn” (2010a, p.534). Higgins et al. (2012) analyse Gordon Ramsay's anger and impoliteness as part of a wider 'new incivility'.

Strange (1998) develops a multiple comparison between *Delia Smith's Christmas* (Smith 1990), *Far Flung Floyd* (Floyd 1993), *Rhodes Around Britain* (Rhodes 1994), and *Madhur Jaffrey's Flavours of India* (Jaffrey 1995), pigeonholing them into four categories:

Cookery-Educative (Cook-Ed)	Programme with an instructor, a discourse and an audience that wants to learn
Personality (Per)	The presenter is more important than the format
Tour-Educative (Tour-Ed)	Travelogue aspects for educational projects
Raw-Educative (Raw-Ed)	The food's journey from raw to finished dish

Table 4: Food TV genres (Based on Strange 1998, p.301).

Finally Rousseau (2012) analyses various celebrity chefs and their impact on people's everyday lives. Apart from these specific cases, the ideological value of the celebrity chef is a relevant part of my theoretical framework and is highlighted in Chapter 3 in relation to my analysis and to the theoretical assumptions of this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on the nation, national identity, national culture, food culture, national food culture and food television that are the bases of this research. In the first section, the review demonstrated that the nation has always been seen in two different ways: either as a natural container of ethnic cultures 'softly' organised; or as a constructed concept, an 'imagined community', which, sometimes, becomes a powerful institution that has nothing to do with improving living standards, but to do with exerting power. Related to this, Bourdieu et al.'s (1994) theory of statist capital and Couldry's (2003) conceptualisation of media meta-capital might be seen as the continuation of this dichotomy. Bourdieu in fact refers to a powerful and imposing nation, and Couldry insists on a weaker state that even tolerates the media as a counterpart. However, both Couldry and Bourdieu point out that the nation always overwhelms and controls its citizens, sometimes with the complicity of the media. Starting from this, I build the role of the nation as meta-tastemaker that I have theorised in the introduction.

The second section has focused on works on food culture and on national food culture. This thesis totally agrees with the theories that constructed concepts are the result of inclusion/exclusion processes. Therefore, to fully understand how a national food culture is constructed, I have also reviewed studies on food culture, as it is the basis of every construction of a national approach to food. Thus, works on anthropology, structuralism or functionalism, which could appear useless in relation to this thesis, have added interesting details on elements that were initially not parts of the national discourse. However, many of these elements have been legitimised as parts of a national culture and related to ideologies and political aims, as I explain below in this section. A concluding section focused on how TV represents food. I have reviewed works on celebrity chefs, food programmes around the world and political and social meanings of food TV.

The third and the fourth sections have centred on works on Italy and Britain related to the above analysed concepts, and have highlighted strong differences at every level between the two countries. First, many studies have proven that Britain lost contact with its food traditions when it became an economic power during the

Industrial Revolution, and found a food identity again thanks to immigrants and their ethnic cuisines. However, a trend of localism seems to join the major strand of works relating to multiethnicity. Conversely, Italy consolidated its bonds with food traditions because it did not lose its diverse regional and local identities; it lacked unity but preserved food habits. Other differences are in the quantity and quality of studies (with a worrying lack on the Italian side) and in relationships with technology, tradition, daily habits, willingness to understand ‘the other’ and consciousness towards risks. It is in these differences, sometimes extraneous to media studies, that I have found the seed of the same differences between the two analysed shows and, on a more theoretical level, between the ways in which different types of national culinary capital have been constructed. This is the focus of Chapters 5, 6 and 7. To name only a few, the attention paid by the British food culture to foods coming from other countries, or the nationalism and pastness of Italian food culture are two elements originating from historical and anthropological roots, but that have been legitimised and stereotyped for ideological reasons. After this chapter, and with the above literature in mind, in the next chapter I express my point of view on the overall research, choosing my paradigm and my theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 3

PARADIGM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction and Research Questions

In this chapter, I lay out the research questions, the overall paradigm and the theoretical framework of this thesis. Before stating the research questions, I need to sum up the main theoretical assumptions of this thesis in order to clarify the reasons underlying my questions. As discussed in the introduction, this research has qualitatively focused on the representation of national culinary capital. I have started from Bourdieu's cultural capital and Naccarato and LeBesco's (2012) culinary capital. These concepts underline how cultural practices and food in particular create distinction. Moreover, cultural studies views of national culture and national TV have shed light on how the nation and the media negotiate, with varying degrees of power, national culinary capital, especially in national food travelogues. In these shows, in fact, food and the nation are particularly bound, and referring to the title of a seminal study, we may say that “we are where we eat” (Bell and Valentine 1997).

I have already demonstrated that these shows reinforce national identity and that they may be involved in the wider field of “nation branding” (Buscemi 2014c). In the global cultural market, nations are sold as goods and must be branded in order to compete (Heller 2011). This has created what Billig (1995) terms as “banal nationalism”; a nationalism far from its strong forms of the past and more concerned with mass media and popular culture. National food travelogues are certainly a means through which the nation brands itself through food (Buscemi 2014c). However, this thesis focuses on how the link between food and the nation in these shows activates the mechanism of power theorised by Bourdieu (whose work is analysed below in this chapter). This link allows the nation to play the role of meta-tastemaker, which is a more powerful tastemaker influencing the others, and to contribute to constructing national culinary capital. This work has thus filled the gap in the existing literature about national culinary capital, as Naccarato and LeBesco theorise the general concept of culinary capital and only hint at the nation as a

possible element interacting with it. Instead, my research has focused on the state as a generator of forms of culinary capital and Bourdieu's mechanism of power, on the role of the state as meta-tastemaker, and on the power balance between the nation and the media.

As people on TV shows or members of the audience acquire culinary capital, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012, p.48) argue that they “use this newly acquired capital to effect change in their lives”. This research has focused on the phase of production of the programmes, and thus on the participants in these shows. Hence, it analyses scenes of these shows in which culinary capital is created or accumulated. For all of this, my main research question asks:

Does representing national culinary capital produce social distinction and in which ways?

When food shows of every kind create forms of culinary capital, they reflect ideologies involving class, but also gender, ethnicity and other issues (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In this research, I investigate whether and how this also happens in national food travelogues when they represent national culinary capital. Therefore, the secondary research questions investigate the roles of class, gender and ethnicity in this process of construction of national culinary capital.

- **Does this representation link to class distinction and how?**
- **Is national culinary capital related to gender issues and how?**
- **Is ethnicity involved in the representation of national culinary capital and how?**

I look at these questions from an overall paradigm that pulls together qualitative perspective, constructionist approaches, sociological views on conflict and cultural studies theories on TV and national culture.

The Research Paradigm

Paradigms have been defined in many ways. One of the clearest definitions is that they are “the fundamental models or frames of reference we use to organize our observations and reasoning” (Babbie 2010, p.33). Only by looking at my research questions, is it clear that this study is centred on the nature of the representation of national culinary capital. I focus on 'how' this representation is organised, taking into account the interrelations between the nation, TV and food, and their power relations and roles. Thus, I centre on elements such as relationships, construction of national ideologies, the power balance between the nation and the media, and the various extents to which all of these phenomena are manifested. I soon realised that this approach is definitely qualitative, because I am not interested in how often or how many times phenomena occur, and so a quantitative approach would not have suited my needs.

However, the construction of a paradigm also implies other choices, relating to the ontological and epistemological perspectives from which the researcher looks at reality. Thus, to answer my research questions, taking into account the complex mutual relationships between the nation, television, and food, and the power-related nature of ideologies, this research adopts a qualitative-relativistic-constructivist paradigm, which is developed in the next subsections.

Qualitative Research

While quantitative analysis measures phenomena mostly to analyse a positivist-based world, qualitative methods fit better with the world that this research implies, a post-modern environment in which phenomena are never fixed and always in flux, and in which elements affect each other:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self ... Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p.3)

At the same time, I soon became aware that this interpretative approach could be problematic. Supporters of the quantitative paradigm often state that results achieved qualitatively cannot be tested, while quantitative outcomes can repeatedly been verified (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). I believe that these quantitative researchers' criticisms may be called into question for two reasons. First, as I demonstrate in Chapter 4, qualitative research has developed independent forms of research testing, in order to verify outcomes. Certainly these forms of testing differ from those of quantitative analysis, but this happens because the assumptions of the two methods are different too. Second, I argue that qualitative research interprets reality, and this interpreting does not mean creating, but seeing things according to the researcher's personal experience, social position, cultural beliefs and other variables that form his/her perspective. Thus, it is important that these variables are specified in the course of the analysis, as I do in relation to my previous role as a TV writer, for example.

In the end, the qualitative approach allows the researcher to be part of the field, along with the object of the research. This proximity permits a close relationship between the researcher and the reality, which the old, positivist approach does not allow. Finally, the objective reality theorised by quantitative researchers seems to be surpassed by the nature of the postmodern context, in which phenomena are in a constant state of flux. The media and their continuous flow constitute a good example of this, and testify to the fact that the old approach could not catch the sense of today's reality. Thus, the reality that I imply in this research can be analysed only

qualitatively, as it is complex, multiple, relative and socially constructed, as I explain in the next subsection.

Ontology and Epistemology: Relativism and Constructivism

The endorsement of the above explained approach implies clear choices in terms of ontology and epistemology. Ontology is the philosophical discipline which studies the different approaches to reality. More precisely, the ontological question is: “what is the form and nature of reality, and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it?” (Guba and Lincoln 1998, p.201). The many answers to this question may be divided into two big strands, the realist and the relativist. Realist ontology argues that reality is something 'external' to and independent from us. On the contrary, relativist ontology argues that reality is multiple and ever changing, and that humanity (and therefore also researchers) is an active part of it (King and Horrocks 2010).

It is certainly the latter answer that this research relies on. Relativist ontology assumes that reality is socially constructed and that may be interpreted differently according to social, cultural, geographical and historical variables (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012). These variables also change according to the nation, and my choice of comparing two different countries and investigating *national* culinary capital certainly has to do with this conception. Moreover, there is no separation between a constructed, social reality (such as time and space) and nature. They are all parts of a mental and social construction (Annells 2011). Different perspectives focus on what the agents that construct reality are. Within the relativist ontology, social constructionism centres on realities constructed by the interaction between the self and the comprehension of others (Schwabensland 2012). However, power relationships have long been involved in this paradigm (Markula and Silk 2011), and I agree “that few people in the world are free to create their own meanings, because the construction of individual meanings is influenced by the historical, political, cultural and economic context” (Markula and Silk 2011, p.38). Therefore, I draw upon another strand of research, again underlining the existence of different realities,

but aiming “to understand the power relations that underpin and produce these realities” (Arora-Jonsson 2013, p.36). In short, many realities are constructed by powerful agents in a field. Each of these agents struggles to impose his/her reality in order to gain power over the competitors. Importantly, this assumption indissolubly links the philosophical approach of this thesis, its power-led paradigm and theoretical framework, and my analysis of the shows.

What I have expressed hitherto also affects the epistemological question, which is: “what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?” (Guba and Lincoln 1998, p.201). My point is that reality cannot be fully understood as an objective matter, because it is continually reshaped by ever changing elements. Bourdieu's theory of the field, as I demonstrate below, teaches us that agents continually reposition themselves and change the configuration of the field itself. To sum up, “the real is relational” (Bourdieu 1998b, p.3), and thus cannot be explained by following linear positivism. To answer the epistemological question, this research relies on a more ‘relativist’ theory, the constructionist epistemology, stating that reality is constructed by the actors in the field, just as with nations, and that researchers are not detached from, but part of it. Therefore meaning is not something fixed that must be discovered, but something continuously changing, shaping and shaped by the object and the subject of research (Crotty 2003). Related to this, constructivist epistemology is also subjectivist, because it is not possible to separate the researcher from the reality that s/he investigates. This new conception of the relationship between reality and researcher “effectively destroys the classical ontology-epistemology distinction” (Geelan 2007, p.13). In relation to this, some account of my previous professional activity may be considered in this sense. Moreover, the adoption of methods such as semiotics and textual analysis confirms the importance of interpretation for this thesis (see Chapter 4).

Thus, constructionist research substitutes unchanged and fixed ideas of meaning with multiple realities changing in relation to social and historical variables (Weinberg 2008). Importantly, constructionists encourage the critical approach to academic, fixed disciplines. Finally, they fight any form of foundationalism, from Descartes's

and Locke's over-emphasis on the human mind, to Kant's detachment of human subjectivity and idealism from natural mechanisms (Weinberg 2008). However, social constructionism also draws on some principles of these philosophers. Amongst others, there is Locke's idea that humans can “rationally interrogate the evidence of our senses” (Weinberg 2008, p.17), and Kant's intuition that human behaviours cannot be linked to “causal mechanisms or natural laws” (Weinberg 2008, p.18). In fact, social constructionism strongly relies on humans' capability of analysing themselves and interpreting reality, and on connecting more phenomena, to overcome simple empiricism (Quine 1951 cited in Weinberg 2008, p.21). Only since the 1960s have philosophers such as Kuhn and Feyerabend argued that “science is not methodologically uniform, discontinuous with the rest of culture” (Weinberg 2008, p.22), and it is this that marked the beginning of the constructionist epistemology. Other contributions to this approach were certainly Hegel's dialectic perception of humans and reality affecting each other, Marx's point that economy and class shape the world, and Gramsci's ideological and hegemonic perspective. Thus, I draw on the strand of research that interconnects the exerting of power and the production of knowledge (Arora-Jonsson 2013; Markula and Silk 2011). Bourdieu's perspective perfectly fits in with this last strand of thought, as I demonstrate below explaining his epistemological approach.

Such a theory necessarily has to deal with many criticisms. The most important can be summarised by the terms reification and sedimentation. Reification relates to the risk that “‘the sense we make of things' ... [becomes] 'the way things are'” (Crotty 2003, p.59). Sedimentation means that interpretations are cast on top of each other, like levels of mineral deposits in the formation of rock. Reality therefore becomes unreachable, and interpretations become barriers between us and cultural meanings (Crotty 2003). Having defined the overall approach, the rest of the paradigm concerns broad theoretical assumptions that underpin this study. They are the social conflict paradigm and cultural studies.

The Social-Conflict Paradigm

This thesis is based on the idea that, in the social systems, dominant agents such as the nation affect other fields and impose their ideologies. Starting from a similar assumption, conflict theory focuses on “the processes by which some people become winners and others become losers” (Brinkerhoff et al. 2014, p.10), and should be applied to every field where different agents compete to achieve power or privilege in general (Babbie 2014). This is certainly the paradigm of sociology that best fits this study. The other two major paradigms, functionalism and symbolic interactionism, see society in a more positive and appeased way. Stolley (2005) finds that functionalists suppose that social systems are balanced and fixed, while symbolic interactionism sees society as based on people's small interactions, downplaying the role of powerful agents (e.g. the nation or the media) and ignoring class, racial or gender issues, which instead constitute a relevant part of this thesis.

The conflict paradigm may be considered as being made up of various contributions, from Wright Mills to Bourdieu. In the 1950s, Wright Mills fought quantitative methods and found conflict to be inherent in society (Wright Mills 1959). Conflict theory builds upon the US political concepts developed after WWII such as radical democracy and left-wing populism. Even though theorists have never considered this approach as Marxist, they actually based it on Marx (McGibbon and Etowa 2009). Marx and Marxist literature, in fact, consider ownership to be the principal source of power (England 1992) and analyse society through the conflicts among the economic classes (Babbie 2014). Along with Marx (1976), later works by Max Weber (1958a; 1958b; 1961), Waller (1965) and Collins (1979) are also considered as part of this paradigm (Ballantine and Spade 2008). Interestingly, Simmel shifts the focus away from the macro economy and macro power relationships towards everyday conflicts within smaller groups (Babbie 2014). In doing so, he finds that conflicts are not always negative, because for example they reinforce people's bonds within each group. Similarly, many Marxists see conflicts as the necessary way of achieving more balanced relationships within the macro society (Straus 2002).

As in the cases of the sociology of taste section in Chapter 2, and in the brief summary of the anthropologist Goody below in this chapter, this brief introduction on the conflict paradigm aims to link Bourdieu to previous studies. Much literature, in fact, perfectly explains what has happened after Bourdieu, identifying which scholars have drawn upon his work. On the contrary, who Bourdieu draws upon is a less frequent issue, and sometimes he appears to be an *unicum* who suddenly appeared without any affiliation. Instead, Bourdieu, with his system of forms of capital, is fully involved in the conflict paradigm (England 1992), and he was “strongly influenced by Marx and especially Weber's theory of class and status” (Morrow and Torres 1995, p.177). As this research is on TV, I need to combine this sociological approach to a theory relating to media, i.e. cultural studies.

Cultural Studies

As a discipline, cultural studies “was inaugurated in the 1960s by the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, which developed a variety of critical methods for the analysis, interpretation, and criticism of cultural artefacts” (Hammer and Kellner 2009, p.xxiv). Cultural studies underline the power-led nature of the mass media and “how dominant ideas reproduce domination and subordination in ... social life” (Hammer and Kellner 2009, p.xxiv). The discipline has always rejected the division between high and low cultures and the passive role of the audience. Cultural studies comprise a wide range of studies and theories, sometimes in stark contrast to each other. First of all, I draw on the part of cultural studies that relies on the fundamental role of cultural and media history (Williams 1980), against the part of cultural studies that consider cultural historians as “antiquarians” and neocolonialists (Steinberg 1996, p.104). In conclusion, I agree with cultural studies “that all forms of cultural production need to be studied in relation to other cultural practices and to social and historical structures” (Nelson et al. 1992, p.4).

Moreover, cultural studies argue that “all forms of cultural representation are intrinsically 'political' because they are bound up with the power that enables some kinds of knowledge and identities to exist while denying it to others” (Barker 2004,

p.41). More specifically, cultural studies draws its idea of power from Gramsci's hegemony, which is a sort of soft power that instead of ruling violently, exerts its strength by never clashing with the dominated (Gramsci 1964). The media are for cultural studies a powerful means by which dominant ideologies are represented and reiterated hegemonically. For Williams, hegemony is a form of culture. In fact hegemony "constitutes a sense of reality for most people ... it is ... in the strongest sense a 'culture' ... but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (1977, p.110). Some cultural studies positions have been seen to be in contradiction to Bourdieu, and this is the topic of the next subsection.

Bourdieu and Cultural Studies

This research combines Bourdieu's sociological approach with the cultural studies framework on media and national culture. In fact, Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and agents support my analysis of TV shows that draws on Gramsci, Williams, and Morley (see below). In addition, my views of national culture are strongly affected by Hall, as I show later. Bourdieu and cultural studies have sometimes been seen as contradictory. In Chapter 2, I reported (Ashley et al. 2004) that cultural studies has sometimes viewed structuralism as heavily compromised by determinism. Thus, Bourdieu's undiscussed structuralism has sometimes created some trouble within cultural studies, which sees phenomena as flexible and frequently unpredictable because of human nature.

However, I find that limiting Bourdieu to deterministic structuralism is reductive. As I demonstrate in my theoretical framework, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* mediates between objectivity and subjectivity, and Bourdieu's theory of field is everything but pre-determined. Moreover, the relational nature of reality (Bourdieu 1998b), discussed above in this chapter, to me puts an end to this debate and confirms both Bourdieu's extraneousness to strict determinism and his consistency to cultural studies analysis.

Other problems between Bourdieu and cultural studies have arisen over the years due to a mutual distrust. On the one hand, cultural studies has seen Bourdieu's theory as an example of “grand theory” (Kelly 2000, p.116), a point of view able to explain everything, an approach that cultural studies has always fought against. On the other hand, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) consider the global, editorial success of cultural studies as an example of cultural imperialism and neocolonialism.

Certainly the two theories diverge when they prefigure the role of the audience. While for Bourdieu (1998a) the members of the audience are controlled by the media system, for cultural studies members of the audience negotiate meanings and are active (Durham and Kellner 2006). In this case, I mostly agree with Bourdieu's point, and this is confirmed by the power-led paradigm developed above. In my opinion, as suggested by Aroldi (2011), cultural studies has overestimated the ability of the members of the audience to resist media pressure.

Apart from this incomprehension, I do not find Bourdieu and cultural studies to be incompatible, and in fact many studies combine the two (Longhurst et al. 2008). In this study, I draw on Bourdieu's theory on the theoretical level, to examine the role of the nation as meta-tastemaker and to theorise national culinary capital. Instead I draw on cultural studies to analyse the empirical level of the two food shows and the way in which they represent the nation and national culture. Even though sometimes the two methods do not converge, the precise hierarchy with which I adopt them avoids any existing conflict between them. After explaining the paradigm supporting this thesis, the next section develops the theoretical framework that I construct in order to answer my research questions.

Theoretical Framework

Bourdieu's General Perspective

By looking at my research questions, it is clear that this research draws on Bourdieu's concepts and disciples. Bourdieu was “probably the most eminent sociologist, of the final quarter of the twentieth century, in the world” (Silva and Warde 2010, p.1). His

best-known work “*Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, is probably the most widely cited empirical sociological monograph ever published” (Warde 2008a, p.241). I have chosen Bourdieu's framework and the complementary support of many of his disciples for various reasons. First, in this research I focus on power relationships occurring in popular culture, and I draw on Bourdieu's idea that any form of culture (high, middle or low) is a field in which power struggles occur. Second, in this work I analyse the celebrity chef as an agent intrinsically related to power (see below), and Bourdieu's cultural and symbolic capital perfectly contribute to shedding light on the link between celebrity chef and power (Rousseau 2012). Finally, the reading of Naccarato and LeBesco's (2012) theorisation of culinary capital was decisive in defining the ultimate sense of this work.

Broadly speaking, for Bourdieu culture is central to social structure. In supporting this theory, he draws on the anthropologist Goody, who in fact is cited in *The Logic of Practice* (Bourdieu 1990). For Goody (1977), literacy and writing shape society, and since his first works on the Kabyle people (Bourdieu 1977), Bourdieu has worked on how written and spoken languages, notions of time and educational processes shape social relationships. In this, Bourdieu distances himself from Levi-Strauss's schematic structural anthropology, which reduces complex human behaviours to overly-simplistic schemes, and from Sartre's subjectivism (Lane 2000). In conclusion, his framework fits in with this work better than other power relation's theorists. Amongst others, in fact, Marx focuses just on the economy as the main dividing element between classes; and Foucault mostly centres on mechanisms of control inside society brought about by science and high culture.

Ontologically, the idea that reality has a relational nature (Bourdieu 1998b) plays a fundamental role in this work. Bourdieu's concept of reality starts from the reality of the field, one of his main concepts that I develop below in this chapter. Here it is sufficient to say that fields act relationally with each other (Pouliot and Mérand 2013) and the same happens to the agents within each field. But the kind of relationality prefigured by Bourdieu is particular:

What exist in the social world are relations – not interrelations between agents and intersubjective ties between individuals, but objective relations which exist “independently of individual consciousness and will”, as Marx said ... In analytic terms a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, p.97)

Thus, Bourdieu sees reality as relational not because it is composed of interpersonal relations, but because it is formed by a different, objective level of relations given by the institutional positions of the agents in the field (King 2004). Importantly, the majority of humans are unaware of these relationships, which are controlled and managed higher up in the social hierarchy. Thus, power relationships are central to Bourdieu's ontology, because they shape reality. All of this leads to Bourdieu's field theory, which is developed below in this chapter.

Epistemologically, it is quite difficult to pigeonhole Bourdieu under a precise label. Certainly, he may be considered as “an 'empiricist' in the sense that his whole sociological program reflects a response against the theoreticism and philosophical pretensions of French social theory” (Morrow and Torres 1995, p.178). In doing so, he rejected formalist structuralism and reformulated “the generative logic of structural analysis within an empirical framework of inquiry” (Morrow and Torres 1995, p.180). However, empiricism is not sufficient to completely describe Bourdieu's epistemology. In fact, his structuralism distances him from both the spontaneity of phenomenology and “the empiricism of a positive approach” (Morrow and Torres 1995, p.178). Therefore, eclecticism and ecumenism seem to be the best labels to classify his work and to overcome the problem that he never clearly chose an epistemological perspective (Morrow and Torres 1995). Similarly, he searched for a third way to avoid the dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism (Jenkins 2002), and below in this chapter, I demonstrate how this happens through the concept of *habitus*. However, he also theorised a reflective epistemology and sociology (Bourdieu and Vacquant 1992) “to subject every scientific analysis to its own scientific analysis” (Pouliot and Mérand 2013, p.27, see also 26-28). This aims at “objectifying objectification” (Bourdieu and Vacquant 1992, pp.71-2), the process through which the analyst constructs his/her object of study. This last point especially

has much to do with my relativistic perspective, because it challenges any positivistic assumption of a truth that is outside of us and may be fully known. In fact:

Against phenomenological, postmodern, and other idealist versions of reflexivity, Bourdieu (1994) views epistemic reflexivity as a means of underwriting, rather than undermining, scientific knowledge; without this *deus ex machina*, his work becomes just another viewpoint among many equally partial and equally valid views. (Maton 2003, p.57)

What is more, this work draws on Bourdieu's broad conception of politics. Later in this chapter, I focus on his ideas of state and nation, which perfectly fit in with this thesis and my concept of the state as meta-tastemaker. Here it is important to highlight his conception of neoliberalism and globalisation, developed in his late works (Bourdieu 2003; 2005), as written in the introduction. Bourdieu does not distinguish between a left and a right wing, between Reagan and Blair, or Thatcher and Schroeder (Bourdieu 2003). Neoliberalism in fact does not divide people into left and right wings, but in those who have power, even cultural, and those who are not allowed to have access to knowledge, and “are dumb, intellectually incapable, idiotic” (Bourdieu 2003, p.33). In this desolate scenario, the media are never a counterforce, but allies of the economic and political powers and also obey commercial interests (Bourdieu 2003). In the meantime, global concentrations of power and money shape “international laws” (Bourdieu 2003, p.90), and the nation simply supports national companies in order to succeed globally (Bourdieu 2003) and to regulate supply and demand for its own benefit (Bourdieu 2005). Finally, another link that connects this thesis to Bourdieu is that Bourdieu never separated the theoretical from the empirical level, and his theory almost always emerges from empirical analyses (Weininger 2005; see also Swartz 2013). Thus, my attempt to theorise national culinary capital by analysing two food shows may be considered as following in Bourdieu's footsteps.

As is clear in this brief introduction, Bourdieu is the starting point of this research, but other, more up-to-date studies complete the framework. As pointed out by

Maxwell (2005, p.35), in fact, the theoretical framework can only be “*constructed*, not found. It incorporates pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that *you* build, not something that exists ready-made”. Thus, after explaining Bourdieu's main concepts that are useful for this thesis in the next subsections, I also build my framework drawing from other scholars.

Field

Bourdieu theorises that agents struggle in a field for power, which is accumulated in various forms of capital, even the cultural one. Thus, there is a clear correspondence between culture and class. On a cultural level, dominant classes decide what is included and what is not within the field. Bourdieu's fields and their boundaries are continually in a state of flux and reflect social structure (Bourdieu 1990; 1991). Fields may focus on the production of goods, or on their consumption, but always, “there is a fairly close homology between the specialized field of production in which products are developed and the fields ... in which tastes are determined” (Bourdieu 2010, p.227). Interestingly for this study, Bourdieu focuses on the fields that produce culture as generators of social difference:

The field of cultural production is the area *par excellence* of clashes between the dominant fractions of the dominant class, who fight there sometimes in person but more often through producers oriented towards defending their “ideas” and satisfying their “tastes”, and the dominated fractions who are totally involved in this struggle. (Bourdieu 1993, p.102)

Finally, one of the problems of the fields of production is that their autonomy is sometimes threatened, especially in the case of mass media production, which is dependent on economic capitalism (Bourdieu 1993; 1998a).

Dominant, legitimate taste is decided in the fields of production and consumption by creating a lifestyle (Bourdieu 2010). This lifestyle is organised around dominant ideologies. “Belief is thus an inherent part of belonging to a field” (Bourdieu 1990,

p.67). Finally, fields interact with each other, and struggles sometimes occur among fields. Critiques of Bourdieu concern his ambiguous account of the number and exact boundaries of fields (Joas and Knöbl 2011). Moreover, Bourdieu's assumption that there are as many fields as forms of capital, seems to be surpassed by neoliberal society, in which the distribution of different forms of capital is less linear than in the past (Gorsky 2013); for example in the huge concentrations of economic power.

Relevant to this thesis is a practical application of the concept of field in Fantasia (2010), which analyses French gastronomy as a field of practice from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. Fantasia finds that the agents who have struggled for power within this field have been the chefs and the entrepreneurs, who have “different values and aesthetic dispositions with regard to food and to cuisine” (Fantasia 2010, p.31). Since the 1990s, with the advent of neoliberal society, big companies have been buying not only fast food French chains, but also haute cuisine restaurants. However “the fabric of this arrangement requires that the economic capital of the *grand groupes industriels* remains somewhat hidden, so as not to reveal its seam, while the symbolic capital of the *grand chefs* is presented as the symbolic face of the field” (Fantasia 2010, p.43). In my research, I have investigated whether this also happens on the two analysed shows, and if the two celebrity chefs and their symbolic culinary capital are represented as split from forms of economic capital. To do so, I need to explain the concept of habitus.

Habitus

In the 'relational' reality theorised by Bourdieu, which is fundamental to this work, “social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus which is 'normally' ... associated with that position” (2010, p.373). *Habitus* is a mix of personal and collective history (Bourdieu 1990), which is somehow 'controlled' by the dominant classes and their institutions. The *habitus* also shapes the average behaviour within a society (Bourdieu 1990). It is “embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history ... It is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respects to external determinations of the

immediate present” (Bourdieu 1990, p.56). Through the *habitus*, Bourdieu sorts out the old dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism. In fact:

... while he hangs on to the structuralist notion of the political unconscious, which is acquired with the *habitus*, he also possesses an understanding of practice in the sense of “experience”, which is by no means merely a passive effect of taken-for-granted (“doxic”) knowledge. (Fowler 1997, p.3)

As I have anticipated above, this mediation distances Bourdieu from determinism and also favours his compatibility with cultural studies.

In this research, the *habitus* may also be considered as the style, the personal touch of celebrity chefs. “‘Personal’ style, the particular stamp marking all the products of the same *habitus*, whether practices or works, is never more than a deviation in relation to the style of a period or class” (Bourdieu 1990, p.60). Additionally, in Bourdieu, the *habitus* is sometimes organised by the state, in order to create consensus (Bourdieu et al. 1994). In orchestrating habituses, the nation “imposes and inculcates all the fundamental principles of classification, based to (sic) sex, age, ‘skill,’ etc.” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.13). In the chapters dedicated to the analysis of the shows, I have investigated how Vissani and Oliver’s habituses relate to the state in Italy and Britain respectively. I would add that the state also does this through hegemonic and softer strategies (Gramsci 1964) often evident in the media and especially on TV (Edensor 2002), as much cultural studies work demonstrates.

Taste, Capital and Symbolic Capital

Taste is the result of the power struggles within the field, “an acquired disposition to ‘differentiate’ and ‘appreciate’ ... to establish and mark differences by a process of distinction” (Bourdieu 2010, p.468). In other words, through taste the dominant groups decide what is legitimate and what is not. Moreover, one of the most important of Bourdieu’s assumptions for this thesis is that taste is relative, dependent on time and space (Bourdieu 1998b), as I have explained in the introduction. Thus,

comparing legitimate taste in Italy and Britain is fundamental to the understanding of how the two shows legitimate different forms of taste, and construct different forms of national culinary capital.

Capital is what agents accumulate and what demonstrates that they have power. The more capital one holds, the more he or she is able to manipulate the dominated (Bourdieu 1991). Throughout his works, Bourdieu identifies many forms of capital. Among these, economic capital means wealth; technological capital refers to the ownership of scientific or technical knowledge (Bourdieu 2005); and cultural capital is cultural skill turned into social distinction. Even capital is relative, just like field, taste and habitus (Prieur and Savage 2011). Thus, what is considered as a form of capital in Britain, for cultural, social, or political reasons will not be considered as a form of capital in Italy and vice versa. This, again, is of direct importance for this study, which compares national culinary capital in Italy and Britain.

For Bourdieu, forms of capital are distributed chiasmically within the field. This means that not only does capital divide people into those who own it and those who do not. It also divides people into those who own economic capital and those holding the cultural. The more the economic capital, the less the cultural capital. Intellectuals, the holders of cultural capital, are the dominated among the dominant groups, and this explains their frequent solidarity to the workers (Bourdieu 2010). This division however is flexible, because many agents can shift from one form of capital to another, losing one of them while they acquire the other.

Finally, Bourdieu (1991) argues that each form of capital may become symbolic when it is widely accepted and recognised. The state, thanks to the strong power it imposes over its citizens, is the field in which symbolic power is most concentrated and exerted (Bourdieu et al. 1994). Symbolic capital may also be considered as the capital accumulated by celebrity chefs, because the power they hold is widely recognised by the audience not only through the shows they present, but also through their presence in commercials, kitchenware brands, restaurant chains, books and so on. The role of the celebrity chefs and the reason why this thesis also focuses on them is explained below in the section on television. However, in many studies that

have refreshed Bourdieu's work, celebrity chefs are considered tastemakers, and below I explain this concept.

Tastemakers

By drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of taste and symbolic capital, many scholars have theorised the role of tastemakers. Tastemakers impose “a canon of rules and standards, establish an aesthetic trend and determine what is legitimate taste” (Lane 2013, p.343). By doing so, they hold great quantity of symbolic power (Lane 2013). Today, celebrity chefs are considered as among the most influential tastemakers, who legitimise taste and, in so doing, accumulate capital. Stringfellow et al. (2013) argue that tastemakers operate between the opposite poles of legitimization and popularization, which may be meant as corresponding to Bourdieu's cultural and economic capital.

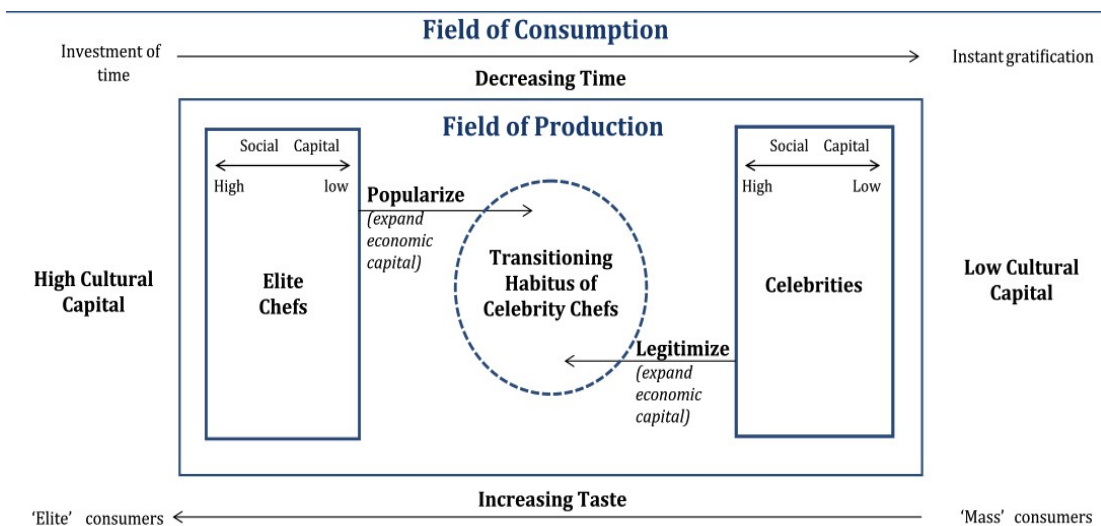


Figure 2: Stringfellow et al.'s scheme (2013, p.82)

In their scheme, on the one hand, those who belong to the 'elite' have more skills and social and cultural capital, but in order to reinforce their roles need to broaden their audience. On the other hand, those who belong to the 'celebrity' are more popular but less credible, so they need to restrict their audience to gain more cultural capital and

authenticity, otherwise their message would end up being weak (Stringfellow et al. 2013). I find this model very useful to analyse celebrity chefs' behaviour and to better understand choices in terms of food and class in the two shows that I analyse in this thesis. Actually, in his final years Bourdieu rethought the concept of the chiasmic distribution of economic and cultural capital. Faced with the huge concentrations favoured by neoliberal governments, he found that “the new masters of the world tend to concentrate the different forms of power (economic, cultural, and symbolic) that in most society remained distinct from, if not opposed to, one another” (Bourdieu 2003, p.79).

Neoliberalism is a concept of great importance for this thesis, as it has profoundly affected food TV and the role of the celebrity chef, as I demonstrate on the section on television in this chapter. To sum up, neoliberal policies have strongly reduced the state to a referee without any active role in the field, encouraging “an unidirectional flow of capital and wealth to the private corporate owners of capital, creating and ever-increasing vertical polarization of society between rich and poor” (Turner 2003, p.62). However, the capital that neoliberalism allows to flow is not only economic. In the case of food TV, for example it is also cultural, as I explain in the next subsection. Finally, drawing on the concept of tastemaker, I advance the role of the meta-tastemaker, and I explain it in the section of this chapter on the nation.

Cultural capital

Cultural capital is the whole of the cultural abilities that affects the position in the field. For Bourdieu, there are three forms of cultural capital. The first, and most important, is given by school, family and education in general, and mirrors legitimate culture. The second is linked to cultural goods, and the third stems from recognised qualifications such as degrees and diplomas (Bourdieu 1986).

McCrone (2005, p.79) has connected cultural capital and the nation, as “cultural capital also means that there is a stock of mechanisms which define who is and who is not 'national'”. Therefore, if cultural capital may also be 'national' and refer to the nation, culinary capital, which is a form of cultural capital, may also be on a

'national' scale. This perfectly supports my choice of comparing culinary capital represented in two different contexts: Italy and Britain.

Culinary Capital

Culinary capital may be considered “as an extension of Bourdieu’s (1984) cultural capital, where he argues that judgements of taste function as markers of social class” (Jackson et al. 2013, p.39). Thus, culinary capital is the form of cultural capital referring to food. It is a “form of capital that Hollows (2003b) casually introduced, describing once capital related to food” (Bratt and Larsson 2012, p.10). De Solier (2005) finds that people watching food shows acquire two kinds of culinary capital: the first directly linked to practical culinary skills, and the second connected to knowledge.

With a more in depth analysis, culinary capital has been theorised by Naccarato and LeBesco (2012, with some hints in LeBesco and Naccarato 2008a). Peter Naccarato and Kathleen LeBesco are two of the most recognised scholars in American food studies. Their first edited book (LeBesco and Naccarato 2008b) focuses on how representation of food (from the holocaust to Martha Stewart) conveys ideologies that trespass food and eating. LeBesco is a cultural studies researcher who also focuses on representations of female obesity, while Naccarato specialises in the sociology of literature. In *Culinary Capital*, these authors argue that through food, culinary capital gives a sense of distinction that is not only economic, but also cultural and ideological, and through which the dominant groups exert their power over the dominated class (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). Moreover, culinary capital “is continually reshaped and potentially rewritten” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.114). Even for this flexibility, “culinary capital also serves as a bellwether for a range of prevailing values and ideologies, including normative attitudes and assumptions about race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.7).

As with any form of cultural capital, even culinary capital creates membership, and is involved “in projects of citizenship as individuals use their food practices to create

and sustain identities that align with their society's norms and expectations” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.3). In this work, I assume that the membership and the citizenship that Naccarato and LeBesco refer to may also be 'national', and I focus on this. In fact:

Culinary capital ... not only serves to shape individual identity, but increasingly to shape national status as well. Consequently, culinary capital plays a role in separating and stratifying countries based on the extent to which they aspire to particular, favored foodways. (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.13)

Naccarato and LeBesco find two main paths that lead to acquiring distinction through food. The first is the choice of local “(the more local, the better)” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.8), healthy and organic food, that have become the food of the upper classes, even because of their high price. The second is the opposite choice of omnivorousness, where those who search for “the greatest variety of tastes and who are open to the broadest range of experiences emerge as the most culturally capitalized” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.9). What is more, this thesis is based on the assumption that culinary capital is profoundly connected to TV, and that the success of food TV “exemplifies the broader circulation of culinary capital across our cultural landscape” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.41). In fact, each of these shows “offers consumers a means of earning culinary capital through credible performances of a range of gender and class ideologies” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.42). This thesis analyses culinary capital in its 'national' forms, and thus the concept of the nation plays an important role, that deserves to be explained in depth.

The Nation, National Identity and National Culture

Anderson first considered the nation as an “imagined community” which is unified by a “deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 1983, p.7). While the nation's construction had before been considered as an exclusivity of high culture, Anderson first identified everyday life and the media (especially the printed) as fundamental

parts of nation-building (Anderson 1983). It is important, moreover, that once a nation has been formed, the process of nation-building does not cease, but goes on to reinforce national identity (Gross 2009). The intuition that is decisive for my research is that the nation and national cultures are forms of narration (Bhabha 1990), thus similar to the media, and almost a medium in themselves. In fact, the nation and national cultures have “textual strategies, metaphoric displacements, sub-texts and figurative stratagems” (Bhabha 1990, p.2). For Hall, like a medium, “a nation ... produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation*” (1992, p.292). Rather than an *imagined* community, therefore, “a nation is a symbolic community” (Hall 1992, p.292).

National identities are the final goal of nation building: “In defining ourselves we sometimes say we are English or Welsh ... These identities are not literally imprinted in our genes” (Hall 1992, p.291), because they are socially constructed and often stereotyped. Related to this, Billig (1995) underlines that media and popular culture in general construct 'weak' forms of nationalism and national identity every day. These forms are far from 'strong' manifestations of nationalism, but equally fruitful for the state, in these times when stronger powers seem to overshadow the nation. Edensor (2002) finds the landscape as relevant in reinforcing national identity, and in Buscemi (2014c) I have demonstrated how food and the nation brand each other in national food travelogues in Italy and the UK. This research, however, not only understands the constructive nature of the nation, but also acknowledges that nation-building is a process purely run by power and political interest (Williams 1983; Giddens 1985).

Bourdieu et al. (1994) see the state as the holder of a meta-capital that gives the nation the power to affect the other fields. The nation is a bureaucratic body, “*a field of power* ... within which the holders of capital (of different species) struggle *in particular* for power over the state” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.5). Apart from the specific “statist capital” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.17), cultural capital also plays its role in this field of power. Bourdieu (1998c) sees the state as having two independent hands, the right one controlling the economy, the left one managing culture through

national ideologies. “The state molds mental structures and imposes common principles of vision and division, forms of thinking” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, pp.7-8). This is what Bourdieu calls “*legitimate national culture*” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.8), that is, the general version of that legitimate national culinary capital that this work aims to uncover. Finally, people obey the state with a “doxic submission”, which “belongs to the order of *belief*, i.e., to the level of the most profound corporeal dispositions” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.14). This is the mechanism by which those who are dominated accept dominant principles, which also explains extreme acts of obedience (e.g., dying for the state).

The modern state also promotes more hegemonic influences; for examples in “state employees engaged in the promotion of tourism, culture and sport ... acting to entrench legitimate culture” (Warde 2008b, p.332). Hall finds that “three resonant concepts ... [form] a national culture as an imagined community: *memories* from the past; the *desire* to live together; the perpetuation of the *heritage*” (1992, p.296). He insists on the constructive nature of national cultures and in their stressing national identity. National food cultures are also constructed through a process whereby elements linked to politics and economics (Appadurai 1988) play more important roles than cultural homogeneity. Similarly, Belasco (2002, p.12) finds that “national cuisines” are mostly ideological and useful for politicians and businessmen.

It is in this broad context that I see the state as meta-tastemaker. As demonstrated by these theories, it is widely acknowledged that the state deals with fields and topics apparently “banal” (Billig 1995), and influences them to support itself. This is a further demonstration of its meta-capital (Bourdieu et al. 1994), which is its ability to influence other fields. Drawing on this, I argue that, mostly on food shows particularly focusing on the concept of the nation, the state influences legitimate taste by suggesting foods and foodways linking to national ideologies, in order to support itself.

Finally, the importance of national identity seems to be overtaken by global trends. Why analyse the nation when the world is more and more globalised? First of all, I agree that nations play a fundamental role in globalisation (Edensor 2002). As

summed up in the introduction, the two terms, national and global, must not be seen as in contrast, but as allies (Edensor 2002). The post-modern nation-state permits globalisation and takes advantage of it (Mihelj 2011), first of all economically. In fact, cultural industries know that 'the national' guarantees consumer participation (Mihelj 2011). In the end, a way of softening the imposition of globalisation is 'glocalism', which relates to hybridisation and creolisation (Stewart 2014). My theoretical framework also focuses on TV, television being the field in which I analyse national culinary capital. This part of my framework is the focus of the next subsection.

Television

Cultural studies have always paid great attention to television. Williams (2003) and cultural studies in general have studied TV through various lenses, from production to technology, economy to genre, to audience. Morley's framework (2004a; 2004b) perfectly fits this research, as he sees television as central to both home and the nation, which for Morley (2004b) are interlinked. As a 'bigger' home, national broadcasting can create a sense of unity and of secure boundaries around the nation (Morley 2004b), and involve members of the audience in complex power relationships (Morley 2004a). By doing so, "popular media reproduce dominant ideology and consumer alienation" (Spigel 2004, p.10).

Media effects have been studied by many different scholars, from those considering audience totally passive to those underlining the active role of the viewer. Bourdieu belongs to the first strand. He finds that TV is "a particularly pernicious form of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is violence that "is wielded with tacit complicity between its victims and its agents" (Bourdieu 1998a, p.17). On the same line, media manipulation theories and the media dependency hypothesis prefigure a viewer that is totally subjugated to TV and the media in general (Russell Neuman et al. 1992). In contrast, cultural studies have frequently highlighted the active role of the audience, who may reformulate the message (Hall 1999). Finally, at the other end of the manipulation theory, uses and gratifications studies focuses on the way the

viewer reinvents media messages, in order to improve their daily lives (Katz et al. 1973-1974).

Bourdieu's view of TV encourages a political-economic analysis of this medium:

What gets on television is determined by the owners, by the companies that pay for the ads, or by the government that gives the subsidies ... These factors ... hide other things, all the anonymous and invisible mechanisms through which the many kinds of censorship operate to make television such a formidable instrument for maintaining the symbolic order. (Bourdieu 1998a, p.16)

Moreover, Bourdieu sees TV as a field in which agents are obsessed with money and ratings, which relate to the consumerist models that the media suggest to their audience (Bourdieu 1998a). Finally, Bourdieu considers television to be a field of symbolic violence, a violence which both victims and agents agree on. He also argues that research aims at showing the hidden relationship between victims and agents (Bourdieu 1998a). However, Bourdieu's analysis of TV is limited by a poor consideration of the global scale and multinational power (Hesmondhalgh 2006), also because, I argue, television became global shortly after his work on TV. Interestingly, as I write about globalisation, Bourdieu's late works clearly analyse global powers and neoliberalism, despite not focusing on TV. Following on from Bourdieu, Couldry sees TV as more powerful than a simple field of production. Like Bourdieu with the nation, Couldry (2003, p.667) sees the media as providers of “a form of 'meta capital' through which media exercise power over other forms of power”.

The role of the celebrity chef reinforces this theory. In fact, celebrity chefs have revolutionised food TV (Mason 2004; Andrews 2003), and have turned cooking into a form of performance (Rousseau 2012), hiding innumerable cases of commercial interests and political economy links. Rousseau (2012, p.x) argues that celebrity chefs fuel “an apparently insatiable popular appetite”, which has political and economic roots, as they can influence powerful agents who are able to address

consumer choice. She links all of this to the so called 'food police', which is the celebrity chef's ability to decide what foods are 'legal' and what are 'outlawed', and to their roles of 'good' or 'bad' cops that is hidden behind their performance. But how free is a performance? Butler (1993, p.234) finds that performance “as [a] bounded 'act' is distinguished from performativity insofar as the latter consists of a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's 'will' or 'choice'”. This code of performativity, detached from the pure act of cooking, may help understand Oliver's and Vissani's behaviour in the two shows.

The relevance of the celebrity chef has also affected my decision in selecting the two analysed shows, as I explain in Chapter 4. Finally, this thesis draws on the idea that TV, food and the nation need to be represented as authentic and natural, because apparently natural elements bestow membership, more than declared social constructs (Olwig 2008). I believe that this constructed naturalness is an important source of national culinary capital that this thesis must investigate, always relating it to class, gender and ethnicity.

Class

This thesis also focuses on class distinction. However, in this study, often I do not refer to the traditional division into high, middle and working classes but, as in Bourdieu, to the simpler divide between dominant and dominated classes. This happens for two reasons: firstly, this thesis mostly draws on Bourdieu and I prefer to replicate his scheme of class distinction. Secondly, it is widely accepted that neoliberal policies have widened the gap between the rich and the poor, polarising the extremes and eliminating the mid-positions. Thus, I do not think that the old distinction into high, middle and working classes still works. Instead, Bourdieu's more schematic divide helps to define the basic role of a class better, and defines its dominant or dominated nature; this is what interests this study. This does not mean that I ignore the importance of the middle classes in Britain, especially in the past, when they were more identifiable. Therefore, I will sometimes continue to refer to

the middle classes, for example when I analyse the East End of London.

The Marxist concept of class focuses on “the ownership of capital and patterns of work”, while Weber theorised a more flexible socio-economic status, also involving “wealth ... (lifestyle), consciousness and identity as well as where a person stands politically” (Macionis and Plummer 2008, p.300). Marx and Weber's theories are less opposing than one may expect (Loyal 2004); the progressive articulation of class has led to today's idea that class “is defined through people's *work situation* ... and *market situation* (people life's chances)” (Macionis and Plummer 2008, p.300). This thesis draws on this strand, but also adds two further elements. The first is “**prestige**, or *the value people in a society associate with various occupations*” (Macionis and Plummer 2008, p.303, original emphasis). However, sometimes not working is a sign of distinction and wealth. In fact Bourdieu (2010) points out that the dominant classes also exert their power through what he terms as “distance from necessity” (p.46), which socially distinguishes “the tastes of luxury (or freedom) and the tastes of necessity” (p.173). The second term is Elias's (1939) concept of class, which is also based on manners and personal behaviour. In fact, “Elias connects social structure and class position to the habitus of individuals” (Loyal 2004, p.136), which may also shift from one class to the other over the years.

Classes are not hermetic containers even for Bourdieu. For him society allows people to make just two movements: vertical movements from one class to another, and transverse movements which “entail a shift into another field and the reconversion of one type of capital into another” (Bourdieu 2010, p.126). Finally, for Bourdieu sometimes dominant groups appropriate working class objects, foods or values, for example sports (Bourdieu 2010); I have investigated whether this happens in the analysed shows. Another strategy, which is really useful for my analysis, through which the dominant reinforce their power over the dominated, is representing themselves “in the place of a worker without having the habitus of a worker” (Bourdieu 2010, p.373).

Over the years, class has been distanced more and more from wealth, and Giddens advances that post-modern societies have multiplied the opportunities to change

people's everyday lives, even though class issues continue to exist (Giddens 1991). An interesting form of detaching class from wealth can be found in Florida (2012), in which the creatives are seen as the new dominant class. However, to be creative these people must also be rich in order to live in big cities and have the time to create (Ollivier 2008). This confirms that class is a changing category, but that it continues to structure society. Besides class, Bourdieu argues that distinction is also created “by a certain sex-ratio, [and] a certain distribution in geographical space (which is never socially neutral)” (2010, p.96). Thus, gender constitutes a powerful source of difference (Bourdieu 2001), and ethnicity helps “to impose the legitimate definition of the division of the social world and therefore, to *make and un-make groups*” (Bourdieu 1991, p.221).

Gender

To put it simply, Bourdieu finds that “men are, *ex officio*, on the side of culture, whereas women (like the working class) are cast on the side of nature” (2010, p.32). Bourdieu sees women as “repositories of capital, appropriated and deployed by men as assets” (Silva 2005, p.96). However, women are aware of this, as “every mode of domination ... presupposes a doxic order shared by the dominated and the dominants. For gender domination, this order is represented by the division of labor between the genders” (Krais 1993, p.169), which “assigns 'humane' or 'humanitarian' tasks and feelings to women” (Bourdieu 2010, p.32).

However, dominant groups “are themselves dominated by their domination. Fears of appearing effeminate, hence homosexual – that is, of not being a 'real man' - are common among men, and demonstrating 'real' male behaviour seems to put great strain on them” (Krais 1993, p.171). The point at which the legitimate genders meet each other is the family, for Bourdieu “a fiction, a social artefact, an illusion ... but a 'well-founded illusion’” (Silva 2005, p.87-88), because “one of the major conditions of the accumulation and transmission of economic, cultural and symbolic privileges derives from having a 'normal' family” (Silva 2005, p.88).

The gender division of labour is intrinsically linked to the human experience, to the point that “in the course of the socialization process every agent inevitably acquires a gendered habitus, an identity which has incorporated the existing division of labour between the genders” (Krais 1993, p.170). Relating to food, Bourdieu (2001) underlines the gender division of the work in the kitchen, with the man assigned a more entertaining role when cooking. Thus, my analysis of the gender roles within these programmes is also guided by this assumption.

Milestone and Meyer (2012) have demonstrated that popular culture is not only affected by, but also shapes gender stereotypes, in all of the stages of the process of communication, from production to representation to consumption. Related to this, socially constructed reality is inhabited by socially constructed subjects, also stereotyped in relation to gender roles. Moreover, each ideology, from feminism to conservatism, constructs its own woman, with different degrees of passivity or activity. For the authors, it is power in the end, that decides what is true within a society, constructing the so called “regimes of truth” (Milestone and Meyer 2012, p.26). Regimes of truth also influence people's perception of ethnicity.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is the inclusive/exclusive category based on “common ancestry and cultural traits” (Ollivier 2008, p.269). Moreover, the way we consider ourselves relates to the way we see the Other and to Otherness. “Otherness is precisely that which does not conform to my system” (Teator 2008, p.150). In a further development, Otherness indicates people occupying “an asymmetrical position” (De la Campa 2000, p.79) within fields of power. Finally, “foodways may be one of the fullest ways of perceiving otherness” (Long 2004, p.21). Ethnicity relates to ideologies such as nationalism, neocolonialism, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Ethnocentrism means “negatively judging aspects of another culture by the standards of one's own culture” (Jandt 2013, p.104). Contrastingly, cultural relativism means “that we must try to understand other people's behaviour in the context of their culture. It also means that we recognize the arbitrary nature of our own cultural behaviours” (Jandt

2013, pp.84-5) and want to learn from the others. Cosmopolitanism, instead, “entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experiences” (Hannerz 1990, p.239).

However, Bourdieu finds that this “universality is at the basis of ... forms of universalist imperialism and of internationalist nationalism” (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.8); this happens because universalism reinforces “dominant power structures [and] demands that 'primitive' cultures remain Othered” (Mkono 2011, p.254). Neoliberal states perfectly embody this strategy, when they “produce otherness as part of the process of defining what counts as political” (Mitchell 2004, p.219).

Mignolo (2000) associates cosmopolitanism with three different forms of imperialism: the first concerning Christianity and its willingness to convert the Other in the 1500s and 1600s; the second, linked to the French and the English colonialism of the 1700s and 1800s; and the third connected to the American imperialism of the twentieth century. In relating cosmopolitanism to food, there are those who see either “cosmopolitan foodways as 'culinary colonialism' (Othering) or as 'food democracy' (multiculturalism)” (Cappeliez and Johnston 2013, p.439). This study certainly agrees with the first strand of research. Heldke (2003) points out that “food adventurers” are continually in search of new, exotic and authentic foods. In so doing, they exploit the Other to move up the social or cultural ladder. In the end, I strongly believe that cosmopolitanism is a form of “colonisation ... of popular culture” (Bell and Valentine 1997, p.136), and that “contemporary cosmopolitanism is the latest effort to revitalise liberalism” (Calhoun 2002, p.93).

Specifically on Britain, and following on from Hannerz (1990), James (1997) finds four British contemporary food trends, which relate to the nation: the first is global, symbolised by McDonald's; the second cosmopolitan, symbolised by the BBC; the third anti-cosmopolitan; and the fourth the “creolization” of food. Finally, cosmopolitanism requires cosmopolitans to be superficial. In fact:

How can a culture remain exotic to the culinary tourist and retain its difference in contrast to other cultures if it becomes too well known, too familiar? In fact, as Hannerz (1990) describes it, a cosmopolitan sensibility toward the world resists immersion and deep engagement in other cultures, opting instead for an ability to move *between* cultures. (Molz 2007, p.90)

In concluding and summarising what I have written in this chapter, I also try to bridge the gap between my theoretical framework and the empirical part of my research.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have developed my research questions and the overall paradigm and theoretical framework. In the part of the chapter relating to the paradigm, I have explained why this research adopts a qualitative, relativist and constructivist approach. While a quantitative approach would have answered a question about 'how frequently' or 'how many times' national culinary capital is represented in these shows, the qualitative approach better fits my aim of finding the 'how'. In addition, on relativism and constructivism, I have linked Bourdieu's power-led relational model to the ontological and epistemological apparatus of this thesis.

In the second part of the chapter, I have constructed my theoretical framework, which mainly draws on Bourdieu and his disciples. First, I have focused on Bourdieu's general concepts, like field, habitus, taste, capital and cultural capital. Second, building on Naccarato and LeBesco (2012), I have developed the concept of culinary capital, relating it to the nation and to food TV. Third, I have advanced a theory of the nation that fits in with this research, focusing on the constructivist approach and on Bourdieu's theory of the nation. Fourth, I have constructed my theory of food TV drawing on cultural studies and, again, Bourdieu. Finally, I have analysed the three categories relating to my three secondary questions: class, gender and ethnicity.

The paradigm and the theoretical framework constructed so far effectively support the theory of national culinary capital and of the state as meta-tastemaker. In fact, conflict theory prefigures a social world in which various elements struggle for

power, and Bourdieu adds that this happens in two different forms of conflict. First, fields struggle between each other, and second, agents struggle for power within each field. The aim is always the willingness of the dominant classes to impose their ideologies and beliefs on the dominated groups. This is exactly the lens through which I carry out my analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The paradigm and theoretical framework, as they have been developed in this chapter, help investigate the field from this perspective.

In fact, I analyse the struggle among fields when I investigate how the meta-field of the state has influenced the fields of TV and food TV over the years, and how it plays the role of meta-tastemaker. In doing so, I draw on conflict theory, Bourdieu et al.'s (1994, p.8) idea of “legitimate national culture”, and cultural studies theories about national culture and national food culture. All of this helps me analyse how the field of the nation influences the fields of TV through national culture; and, more specifically, how the nation influences food TV through national food culture and through its role as meta-tastemaker. Here, even field history helps me understand whether or not the nation has played this role over the years and in which ways. Finally, cultural studies also suggest a two-way relationship between the nation and TV, with the latter seen as having an active role.

On the other hand, I need to know how the fields that I investigate are composed. The nation, TV and food TV are fields in which, as Bourdieu explains, agents struggle for power. In this part of my analysis, I find out who these agents are, who dominates and who is dominated. To do so, Bourdieu's relational field analysis, my constructivist framework on the nation, and cultural studies theories on national TV, food TV and celebrity chefs guide my research. In addition, to identify dominant ideologies, concepts developed above such as elitism, omnivorousness, culinary colonialism and Mignolo's (2000) investigation of British cosmopolitanism help me analyse how these fields have constructed food and TV in relation to class, gender and ethnicity. In the next chapter, I focus on the methods that I adopt to gather and analyse the data, and on the different stages of the research procedure.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the research approach and the techniques adopted to gather and analyse the data. In Chapter 3 I have centred on the theoretical assumptions relating to my relativist ontology and constructionist epistemology. They are not only abstract theoretical statements, but also philosophical perspectives that inform and support this study. In fact, the methodology that this research adopts cannot be detached from my ontological and epistemological assumptions. Thus, in this chapter, I focus firstly on these philosophical implications which my methodology is based on; secondly on the methods adopted and on their relations to this study; thirdly on the research procedures; fourthly on issues linked to data presentation, reliability and validity; and finally on my reflective approach as a researcher.

Ontological and Epistemological Implications

Assuming that reality is not 'out there' but that it also includes the researcher and that it is constructed, has different implications on my methodology on two different levels. It firstly affects the general methodological approach, and secondly the choice of various methods. First, as the reality is multiple and ever changing, “the researcher needs to gather multiple perspectives” (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.26). In fact, while a fixed and objective reality may be 'photographed' by one, objective method, a multifaceted, in flux and multiple reality needs to be analysed from different angles to be understood.

This strategy is called 'triangulation', because it resembles the pre-GPS strategy adopted by navigators to find their exact position while at sea. Once they found the distance from three different points, they used to “draw lines on the chart from these points thus producing a small triangle that would indicate the position of the vessel” (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.26). Similarly, the researcher obtains results from different methods, and by comparing them, draws the final shape of the reality he/she

has investigated. It is by following this principle that this study relies on different methods, which I explain below in this chapter.

In the end, this methodology can broadly be defined as 'hermeneutic', in the sense that it is based on interpretation. To give a clearer idea of this, I have drawn on and adapted a scheme by Easterby-Smith et al. (2012, p.25), in which the authors underline the specificities of a study based on a relativist ontology and a constructionist epistemology.

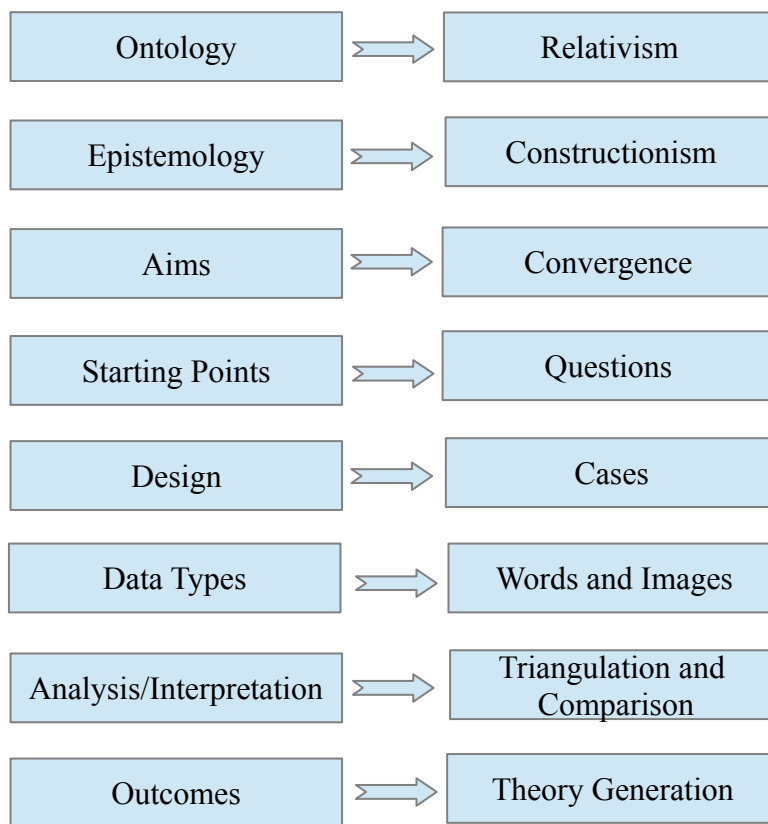


Figure 3: Methodology (Based on: Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.25).

I find that this scheme perfectly summarises my thesis. Apart from relativism, constructivism and triangulation, already explained, it also underlines that I start from research questions, analyse cases (the two shows) by collecting words and

images from them, and generate a final theory, which is the theory of national culinary capital.

This broad approach presents both strengths and weaknesses, as every other potential kind of analysis does. Among the strengths, there is certainly the multiplicity of points of view and of methods, which ensure a more complete investigation, and the ability to generalise the outcomes (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012); what is more, in implying an ever changing reality, such an approach allows the researcher to catch emergent elements that an objective investigation could ignore; finally, “pointing to theory generation, it paves the way to the conceptualisation of new theories” (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.27-28). Among the weaknesses, there is the necessity to investigate large samples to guarantee credibility (and in fact I analysed 50 per cent of the episodes for each show); moreover, the need to converge the results towards consistent outcomes might lead to eliminating extraneous variables among the chosen cases, and to focusing on similarities; furthermore various sources and perspectives may provide contrasting results making it more problematic to deal with (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012); finally, too much room is left to interpretation, which is a difficult activity that relies on researcher's in-depth knowledge (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012).

As said above, the ontological and epistemological perspectives have also affected the choice of the methods employed. First of all, for relativist ontology, there is not one objective truth, but many relative and limited truths. I have already demonstrated in Chapter 3 that this theory relates to the concept of power. In fact, “‘truth’ is defined as the best informed and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus” (Geelan 2007, p.13), and this consensus is often constructed by powerful agents. In this thesis, the state is seen as having sophisticated weapons to build this consensus, and therefore is seen as constructing this consensus around national ideologies. Similarly, the media constitute another form of power which the state relates to varying degrees. Thus, to investigate a reality that is constructed for power-related reasons, I have chosen two methods: Bourdieu's field analysis and political economy analysis, which aim to uncover power relationships. Moreover, this

ontological and epistemological approach underpins a type of hermeneutic investigation based on interpretation. Textual analysis in general and semiotics in particular are two methods of inquiry decidedly based on interpretation, and thus they are in line with the philosophical approach of this thesis. Finally, interviewing the producers is another method adopted in this study, as it allows me to fulfil the need to triangulate and analyse the field from various perspectives.

Before analysing the methods adopted in this study, I want to clarify that the process above described must not be thought of as a linear strategy. There has certainly been a chronological sequence in applying the various methods, and I give an account of this in the last part of this chapter. However, the various phases of the research have followed a more cyclical approach, giving birth to the so-called hermeneutic circle. In fact, any interpretive, and so “hermeneutic methodology involves a continuing dialectic of iteration, analysis, critique, reiteration, reanalysis, and so on, leading to the emergence of a construction of a case” (Geelan 2007, p.13). This is why, as I explain below, during the textual analysis stage, I went back and forth to the sampled episodes of the shows many times. This was part of more complex cycles: after each step I critically reflected on the outcomes and verified them again, by starting another cycle. The same happened with political economy and in each step of the research. After explaining the overall structure of my methodology, in the next section I explain the various methods individually.

Methods

To answer my research questions, I needed to combine different approaches in order to cast light on the different parts of my investigation. First, I needed to clarify how the fields of television and food television have developed and interacted with the nation over the years in the two countries, and what agents have struggled within them. To do so, Bourdieu's historical field analysis (which I relate to Italian and British TV and food TV) uncovered how the fields have interacted and how the agents have positioned themselves within each field. Additionally, political economy analysis helped to analyse media ownership and political interests. This part of the

research helped me to gain a clearer view of the broad environments in the two countries. It is in this environment that the two analysed programmes have been produced. They constitute a sort of second level of this investigation, and therefore relate to a second methodological level.

In the second part of my research, in fact, I analysed the two shows to find out how they relate to what I have found in the first part, which is the national ideologies and beliefs connected to the construction of national culinary capital. To investigate the programmes, I applied moving image analysis. Once the data was gathered, however, moving image analysis needed to be accompanied by other techniques, and semiotics perfectly fit my needs, to interpret specific scenes. Here the political economy analysis of the companies producing and broadcasting the shows helped me contextualise their roles within the fields, and uncover their interests in the construction of particular forms of national culinary capital. Finally, all these research methods were backed up and completed by an in depth interview with the Italian TV producer, while the British producer refused to be interviewed. I explain what happened in more detail in the section of this chapter dedicated to the interviews. Certainly, the British producer's refusal created a gap in my analysis, and I provide an explanation on how I bridged this gap in Chapter 7, when I discuss Oliver's political economy.

Bourdieu's Historical Field Analysis

In my theoretical framework I have explained that by field Bourdieu means a sort of unity aimed at an activity (e.g. cultural production) and in which agents struggle to achieve control over it. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, pp.104-5) argue that a field shapes itself through its internal relationships and in relation to more general “fields of power”. More specifically:

First, one must analyse the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power ... Second, one must map out the objective structure of the relations between positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority of which the field is the site. And, third, one must analyse the *habitus* of the agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinate type of social and economic conditions, and which find in a definite trajectory within the field under consideration a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized. (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, pp.104-5)

In both forms of relationship, power is the ultimate goal. It was almost immediate to me, to transfer this theoretical view to the empirical phase of my research. I considered the nation, Italian and British TV and Italian and British food TV as fields, in which various agents struggle for power. These fields may interact with each other (e.g. the nation and TV), creating a series of power relations, and, as theorised above, within each field agents struggle to gain power. Bourdieu and Wacquant's idea of field analysis is exactly what this thesis needed to answer its research questions, because it takes into account both the relationships between fields and the relationships within a field. In following this, I firstly analysed the fields of Italian and British TV and food TV in relation to the 'field of power' of the nation; secondly, I investigated the relationships between agents within the analysed fields; and thirdly, I found out how the *habitus* of the tastemakers (the celebrity chefs) is affected by social and economic conditions, and also how their forms of cooking somehow mirror national ideologies and beliefs.

“Field analysis calls attention to the social conditions of struggle that shape cultural production” (Swartz 1997, p.119). For Swartz (1997, p.293), “field analysis provides an attractive structural mapping of arenas of struggle over different types of capital for power and privilege”. It particularly fits into Bourdieu's framework, as “Bourdieu uses it to make many perceptive observations on political relations between culturally rich intellectuals and economically subordinate groups” (Swartz 1997, p.293).

In my theoretical framework I have already focused on the importance of history for Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1993). Gorski insists that the historical perspective better investigates “what sorts of change become visible on a map of fields [relating to] ... positions within fields or in relations between fields” (Gorski 2013, p.329). The historical approach is also reinforced by the fact that “an analysis based upon Bourdieu ought to be historical because two key concepts of the field analysis presuppose a dynamic view: 'trajectory' and 'position taking” (Verbruggen 2007, p.581).

Finally, I have kept in mind two fundamental elements of Bourdieu's analysis, relational thinking and reflection. I write about reflection and the personal bias that may affect this work at the end of this chapter. On relational thinking, instead, I have already reported Bourdieu's idea of the relational nature of reality (Bourdieu 1998b). More in depth, “relationally for Bourdieu means conceptualizing capitals, individuals, groups, organizations, and even *nations*, as interdependent units in terms of broad networks of relations that shape their action beyond individual consciousness” (Swartz 2013, p.22, emphasis added). Therefore, even in my field analysis, mutual relations and influences between and within the fields were central. Thus, the relationships between the fields of the nation, national food culture and food TV have been thought of as reciprocal. Similarly, relations within the field between production companies, broadcasters, celebrity chefs and other agents have been studied, because it is in them that I have found the mechanisms producing forms of national culinary capital. While Bourdieu's field analysis concerns the macro-level of my investigation, textual analysis provides a detailed analysis of the two food shows.

Textual Analysis

Much of Bourdieu's work brings together high-level investigation and empirical analysis. His most famous book, *Distinction* (2010), continuously mixes the two levels, from the theorisation of the education system to the analysis of a photograph. In drawing on Bourdieu, this study has similarly aimed to mix a macro level of

analysis, achieved through historical field and political economy analyses, and a micro level investigation, which is carried out through textual analysis of the TV shows. Textual analysis is one of the three big strands of media research, besides audience analysis and institution analysis. “One of the cornerstones of media studies is the critical analysis of media texts. Often referred to as 'reading' media texts, critical analysis is the close textual examination of the meanings that media output generates” (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.13).

Textual analysis can be applied to written, audio or visual texts, as:

In analysing texts researchers seek to highlight the common codes, terms, ideologies, discourses and individuals that come to dominate cultural outputs. What can be said about the individuals featured in the texts? Who are the contributors to the texts? How are the texts framed and presented? What are the terms and phrases used and what is their symbolic meaning? What are the assumptions embedded in the texts? (Davis 2008, p.56)

Related to visual media, textual analysis has divided into various branches, concerning technical aspects, as well as symbolic or ideological meanings. This research will concentrate on moving image analysis and semiotics.

Moving Image Analysis

Moving image analysis stems from the film studies technique called *Pre-eminences* analysis, whose “underlying principles can be used for analysing a range of other visual media” (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.13). The term originates in the theatre and from film critics and is “a reading methodology which can be used in consideration of how meaning is constructed within films” (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.14). Many things have changed since those years in film production, and the technique has become more complex, especially if applied to other media. Today moving image analysis is considered the qualitative correspondent to quantitative content analysis. It consists of breaking “down signifying components without breaking up the object of study as a meaningful whole” (Hansen et al 1998, p.131). In dismantling the

individual components, we may identify codes (e.g. slow motion or reverse angle shots in conversations) and conventions of the genre (e.g. the look of a Western town). The elements to be analysed are technical (e.g. close-up, long shot, camera angle, lenses, depth of fields, camera movements, editing, special effects, and lighting) and symbolic (e.g. colours, costumes, objects, stars, sound effects, setting and location) (Hansen et al. 1998). Aimed at analysing films:

... there is no reason why *pre-eminences* analysis cannot be used for approaching the textual construction of a range of other visual media forms, for example television ... Maltby and Craven's argument that the form in question must be related to the financial and generic specificities which structure its production are important factors to take into account. (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.18)

Hansen et al. (1998) argue that moving image analysis is not only a technical method to gather data. Starting from the code stated above, in fact, it is also possible to identify deep structures and "the identification of ideological positions and ideological messages within text" (Hansen et al. 1998, p.131). Deacon et al. (2007) insist on this deeper aspect of the discipline:

Images analysis should proceed from technical codes to more substantive questions of signification, to an examination of how visual images work as signs or sign-vehicles. ... From denotation to connotation. The technical codes ... and the semiotic encoding ... are part and parcel of the same television product, and analysis needs in various ways to move between them, rather than dealing with one and then the other as if crossing between two entirely separate areas of consideration. (p.227)

The images analysed with this technique sometimes require a more detailed analysis, and to do so I adopt semiotic analysis.

Semiotics

Semiotics stems from the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and of the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce. Saussure found that every linguistic sign is like a coin with two faces: a signified (for example the mental image of a horse) and a signifier (the word 'horse'). The relation between the two concepts, in the case of the language of words, is totally arbitrary but socially shared. The word 'horse', for example, is shared in each community and may have particular meanings among a group. Peirce added the theory according to which a sign may be an index (being linked to something else, for instance, the smoke for a fire), an icon (a visual image of something) or a symbol (signifying something else arbitrarily, for example, the colour red for passion).

Roland Barthes applied semiotics to everyday life and the discipline became one of the most popular in the 1970s. Today, "semiotics, or the science of signs, is primarily the study of how signs communicate. It is also the study of the rules which regulate the operation of each system of signs" (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.19). Barthes found two orders of signification, i.e. denotation and connotation:

Denotation is the image or signifier – what is contained in the image. The denotative meaning of "red rose" would be a flower of a particular colour. Connotation takes the first-order signification – signifier and signified – and attaches an additional second-order signified to it. The connotative meaning of "red rose" is romance. Importantly, it is our culture which surrounds the red rose with the connotative meaning of romance. (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.22)

In this thesis, the connotative meaning of a sign has proved really useful when comparing two different national cultures. Thinking that semiotics is detached from reality would be a mistake. "Since it is equally committed to the *social* production of meaning (language cannot be invented by individuals) semiotics has always sought to relate the production of meaning to other kinds of social production and to social relations" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, p.281). This means that concepts like nation building and national food culture may be intertwined with this discipline.

Another semiotic issue that has proved crucial to this research is the double level of signs; the fact that each text is readable at a denotative or a connotative level. Food shows are generally full of objects that represent something else (first of all food, but also kitchens, tools, clothes, etc.). When the shows represent the nation, however, the field of connotation is yet more important, as monuments, landscapes and also flags and cars may be read in this 'national' sense. O'Sullivan et al. (1994, p.282) point out that semiotics tells us "how meaning is socially produced (not individually created) and subject to power relations and struggles"; this clearly links to Bourdieu's concept of field. Moreover, for semiotics the individual is "the individual/subject whose individuality is largely a product of the ideological discourses and signifying practices which s/he inhabits or encounters in social relations" (O' Sullivan et al. 1994, pp.282-3).

In applying semiotics, I found out how some elements of the programmes (isolated with moving image analysis), besides their denotative values, also have connotative meanings. I interpreted them as signs and codes related to social and power-led structures such as national food culture and national culinary capital. Criticisms toward textual analysis focus on the danger of exclusively considering the text as the sole object of analysis. "Textual analysis used in isolation ... tends to confine meaning solely to the text. ...it remains a text-based approach which requires theoretical extension" (Taylor and Willis 1999, p.27). Finally, Bourdieu finds that semiotics is the analysis of internal elements of language, which ignores dynamic elements. "It is in relation to a market that the complete determination of the signification occurs" (Bourdieu 1991, p.38). To overcome these limits, in this study I have also relied on interviews with producers and political economy analysis, which add relational elements to the meanings semiotically analysed.

Interviews with Producers

When I designed this research, I felt the need to add something more to the analysis of the programmes. The object of this research is to find out how these shows construct national culinary capital and I immediately felt the need to hear from

people who had participated in the production process. In talking to them, I wanted to trace the production process and the steps that have led from the first idea to the final product, identifying (if there is) the stages in which national culinary capital was created, and the elements that affected this construction.

Interviews play an important role in a constructivist landscape. If reality, in fact, is not 'out there' but is constructed, "language has the potential to construct particular versions of reality" (King and Horrocks 2010, p.22). Hence, an interview may become a fundamental opportunity to construct reality through the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee. In this context, quantitative interview methods are useless, and so another method must be employed. "Qualitative interviews use an 'interview guide' that outlines the main topics the researcher would like to cover, but is flexible regarding the phrasing of questions and the order in which they are asked" (King and Horrocks 2010, p.35). Moreover, interviews are divided into structured (similar to surveys), semi-structured (in which the interviewer may change the approach during the interview) and unstructured or in-depth interviews. The latter category is undoubtedly the one that fits the philosophical framework and the practical approach of my work. "The traditional type of unstructured interview is the non-standardized, open-ended, in depth interview ... a way of understanding the complex behaviour of people without imposing any *a priori* categorization, which might limit the field of inquiry" (Punch 2005, p.172). Therefore, I simply jotted down a list of topics and gave the interview a conversational tone.

By following the guide proposed by King and Horrocks (2010), I also knew that my job as a TV writer may have helped in building good relationships with the producers to interview. Sharing similar experiences as workers in the TV industry may have contributed to actually creating a reciprocal sympathy. However, I was also aware that excessive intimacy and familiarity could have led the interviewee to take the interview too lightly, and to focus on topics which would be useless for my research. The topics to focus on were diverse, but I knew that during the interview I could spot what the interviewee was more expert in and centre the dialogue on that. Moreover, I believed that key points, rather than full questions, could help give the interview a

more colloquial tone. I also thought that asking the producers to have the interviews take place in their offices would make them feel more comfortable, without forgetting their role and their responsibilities. My intention was to record the interviews with a small recorder, not to embarrass the producers. In addition, I did not need to catch non-verbal language, reactions or other visual details of the interviewees, therefore I avoided video recording. Once finished, I transcribed the texts in a non-verbatim version. In fact, a word-to-word transcription would have added nothing to this study. What I was interested in was in fact the news, impressions, opinions and approaches that the interviewee had seen backstage. Only in one case, was I interested in the way the Italian producer expressed his thoughts about Italian food. His insistence on 'We' and 'Us' while he talked about Italian food made it clear that he totally identified with Italy. However, even in this case a non-verbatim transcription was enough, because it also took into account the Italian producer's use of 'We' and 'Us'.

Political Economy Analysis

Broadly speaking, this study analysed the mechanisms of power that occur between the nation, television and food. Therefore, I needed a method that sheds light on the interrelations between the media's ownership, political interests, and food economy and economy in general. Political economy analysis seemed to be the right choice to investigate such a complex field. It allowed me to research the vested interests of broadcasters, production companies and celebrity chefs, especially in the case of Jamie Oliver.

Before starting my analysis, I clarified what I meant by the term 'political economy', as “over its long lifetime, the phrase 'political economy' has had many different meanings” (Weingast and Wittman 2008, p.3). If for liberals it was “the science of managing a nation's resources so as to generate wealth” (Weingast and Wittman 2008, p.3), for Marxists it focused on “how the ownership of the means of production influenced historical processes” (Weingast and Wittman 2008, p.3). During the twentieth century, it was considered as “the interrelationship between economics and

politics” (Weingast and Wittman 2008, p.3). According to the OECD-DAC (Development Co-Operation Directorate), “political economy analysis is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society; including the distribution of power and wealth between groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time” (Halvorsen 2013, p.67).

Relating to media studies, the term refers to the ownership of the media and its connections to political and economic powers. Cultural studies and political economy share many points, in fact, cultural studies is:

... concerned with power and the distribution of economic and social resources. Consequently, cultural studies has been concerned with: who owns and control cultural production; the distribution mechanism for cultural products; the consequences of patterns of ownership and control for contours of the cultural landscape. (Barker 2012, p.9)

Even though the two fields concur in achieving similar aims, they have also clashed and I must explain and theoretically solve this. The problem originated in the fact that in applying political economy to texts, one of the potential risks could certainly be reductionism. Reductionism means thinking that all the elements of the text may be considered as brought about by political economic reasons. Cultural studies objected that “the processes of political economy do not determine the meanings of texts ... Questions of class, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nation and age have their own particularities which cannot be reduced either to political economy or to each other” (Barker 2012, p.9). Cultural studies resorted to the concept of “over determination’. By this is meant the idea that any given practice or instant is the outcome of many different determinations ... with their own logic and specificity. This specificity cannot be reduced to ... other levels or practices” (Barker 2012, p.59).

To overcome the issue, I agree with Massey (1995, p.309) that “it is impossible simply to separate-off 'the economic' from the political, cultural and ideological

aspects of society”, but that each element affects the others. Finally, Grossberg (1995) sorts the problem out by arguing for political economy based on “*articulation*” and not “*determination*”. Related to this, Massey (1991, p.44) underlines that political economy scholars should focus on “what is being represented, how it is being represented, and from whose point of view, and the political effects of such representations”; this is exactly how I applied this method to my thesis.

As I applied this method to TV, it is important to underline that television “has been regarded principally as a means of profiting and legitimizing its controllers” (Miller 2007, p.12). In most cases states exert this role of controller, to the extent that “many states simply took over television themselves to promote national identity, to control national politics, to mobilize people to support government development programs” (Straubhaar 2007, p.62). In fact, “national television can reinforce national political identity ... sustain a sense of patriotism, conform to a military sense of national security, and reinforce a sense of being a national consumer” (Straubhaar 2007, p.70). To sum up, first of all “television is still primarily broadcast television coming from national networks” (Straubhaar 2007, p.3). After explaining the methods of this study, in the next section I clarify in what sequence I have applied them.

Research Procedure

The First Step: Historical Field analysis

First of all, I found it fruitful to apply Bourdieu's framework to a comparative analysis, because:

... comparative analysis is equally useful for understanding justification of taste. Changes in cultural production and in processes of consecration are not the same everywhere. The primary concern should be less a matter of philosophy and scholastic aesthetics, more the analysis of vernacular texts and the business of cultural intermediation. (Warde 2008b, p.333)

I considered Warde's quotation as an encouragement to analyse texts and political economy in different countries. In my case, these countries were necessarily Italy and Britain, because they **are** the countries I am more familiar with, and because I can only speak their languages.

By starting from the general and later focusing on the specific shows, I first needed to have a clear scenario of the fields of the Italian and British television in general, and food TV in particular. In following Bourdieu, I wanted to investigate: first, how the two fields behave vis-à-vis the field of power of the nation; second, how agents position themselves within each field; and third, the *habitus* through which agents have internalised national ideologies and beliefs. Thus, I focused on how television in general has been affected by the nation and how food TV has been affected by national food culture.

This was clearly not the main part of my study, but I found it necessary to contextualise my analysis before going into details, and to know more about the fields in which food programmes struggle. This helped me understand what the shows draw on when they build on the nation in general, and on national culinary capital in particular. To carry out field analysis, I accessed documents, records, articles, TV programmes, studies and other forms of primary and secondary sources. They allowed me to trace the composition of the fields of Italian and British TV and food TV, and of the process of construction of national food culture in the two countries.

The Second Step: The Choice of the Two Shows

When it came to selecting the TV programmes to be compared, I had a vast array of cooking shows in front of me, from the first experiments of the first years of TV in the two countries, to the last, entertaining performances of the celebrity chefs. Two principles orientated me in this crowded field and helped me to make a first selection.

First, I wanted to compare programmes produced and broadcast in the same period. In fact, comparing two shows, for example one produced in the 1960s and the other in the 1980s, implies risks, because they are affected by differing temporal contexts, represent food in different periods and thus the comparison may result flawed. Comparing texts produced in different periods is useful when the researcher wants to analyse the historical development of a phenomenon over the years, but I wanted to compare the different approach to food on TV in two countries in the same period. That is the reason why I chose to compare two shows contemporary with each other.

Second, I wanted to compare two shows produced in the present day. In fact, I was interested in the state of power relationships in food travelogues in the period in which I had been writing this thesis. This is the reason why I chose to compare two shows of recent years.

These two principles narrowed down the number of the options in front of me, but still a bunch of shows were suitable for my research. In Italy, for example, the three shows which I had already analysed (Buscemi, 2014b), and *Sapore di Mare*, part of the longer show *Linea Blu* (Bianchi 2011), were still to be taken into account. Similarly, in Britain there were many food shows which populate public and commercial TV every day. A further selection was made by my decision to analyse shows presented by celebrity chefs, because I find this category as holding a combination of knowledge, power and performance that fits Bourdieu's framework better than journalists or hosts presenting other kinds of food shows. As stated in Chapter 3 in the section on TV, celebrity chefs relate to Bourdieu's habitus and symbolic power. They also convey neoliberal assumptions on the dominance of the economy, by having economic interests and by influencing food decision-makers more than journalists or presenters.

The choice of the celebrity chefs discarded the Italian shows mentioned above, because they are presented by journalists and hosts; and British cookery shows such as *The Hairy Bikers: Mums Know Best* (The Hairy Bikers 2010), because the Hairy Bikers are not fully celebrity chefs, do not own restaurants and often joke about celebrity chefs on their shows. The topic of two presenters cooking on TV but

representing themselves as counter-celebrity chefs seemed to be an interesting issue but not suitable for this thesis.

While looking at the current shows produced in the two countries by celebrity chefs, I noticed that two of them had the same structure and the same concept: *Ti Ci Porto Io* (Rocco and Vissani, 2012) and *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver, 2011). They both represented the journey of a male celebrity chef around his country (Italy and Britain respectively), and the search for 'the food of the nation'. Not only did the two shows fully satisfy my requirements, but also they were based on the concept of the nation, which I considered a key-element of my study. This led me to choose them.

In this way, I believe that Warde's recommendation for a comparative analysis within Bourdieu's framework has been fully respected and well-applied. In fact, in the two countries in question, Italy and Britain, both food and television have always related to different political, social and cultural meanings and values, as I explain in the next chapter. This also means that Bourdieu's concept of field, which is the environment in which power relations occur, reveal differences in relation to the two countries, for political and economic reasons. For this, and also for what Warde recommends in terms of "business of cultural intermediation" (2008b, p.333), in this thesis I have also analysed the political economy of TV, to investigate "professional and commercial interest involved in the establishing of value" (Warde 2008b, p.333).

Finally, as a background to the project, I watched some Italian and British food shows from the 1950s to the present; an account of them is in Chapter 5. Certainly, I know that watching does not mean analysing, and in fact I describe them in general, as they are not the focus of this work. However, the literature that I have read on them allows me to contextualise the two analysed shows, which is the aim of Chapter 5.

The Third Step: Selecting

After choosing the two programmes I wanted to focus on, I decided how to sample the two series. Selecting the texts to analyse is a fundamental part of any research,

because it “refers to a set of techniques for achieving representativeness” (Bauer and Arts 2000, p.21). The biggest difference is between probability (random) and non probability (criteria-based) selection; qualitative research prefers the second group, because it aims at a “systematic selection” (Bauer and Arts 2000, p.20) of the elements to analyse. However, I discarded types of selecting such as theoretical and opportunistic, which focus on precise elements that the researcher wants to analyse. In fact, I was not searching for a precise element of the show, but I wanted to find out how an element, national culinary capital, is represented *throughout the series*, from the beginning to the end. This is because I wanted to find out whether during the production and broadcasting process, differences in representing national culinary capital occurred. Sometimes, many corrections emerge during the production and broadcasting of a show, and it would be useful for this research to find some of them and explain why they occur.

To answer this requirement, I have applied purposeful (or purposive) selecting, which “is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (Merriam 2009, p.77). In this case, for me 'the most can be learned' by having an overview of how national culinary capital has been represented *throughout the series*, from the beginning to the end. What is more, I chose to sample 50 per cent of the entire series, and therefore nine episodes for the Italian series and three for the British one. For this reason, I analysed the first, the middle and the last episode of the two series, and six other episodes in the middle on a regular basis for the Italian show. For *Ti Ci Porto Io* (Rocco and Vissani 2012), I have watched episodes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16 and 18 (the last)., and for *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver 2011), I analysed episodes 1, 3, and 6 (the last). I knew that 50 per cent is a very high percentage in a qualitative study, but I believed that this would provide more complete outcomes, even though validity and reliability are not affected by the percentage of sample, but by other elements (see below).

The Fourth Step: Image Analysis

I watched *Ti Ci Porto Io* on the channel La7 on You Tube and *Jamie's Great Britain* on Channel 4's website, after registering for the membership. Once collected, I wrote down the transcripts of the selected episodes, which are reported in the appendix. What is more, I watched the two shows again to gather general data about the forms of culinary capital that the shows represent. After this, I re-watched the shows another three times, one time for every category of my secondary question, relating to class, gender and ethnicity. The transcripts helped me to isolate the most interesting scenes that I watched again to fully understand them.

Once gathering all the data, I analysed it through the method of moving image analysis. Technical details such as a close-up on the Union Jack stuck on Oliver's army truck, or visual elements such as the army truck immersed in the British landscape, suggested interesting links to my theoretical framework. Finally, I applied semiotic analysis to the scenes more relating to my research questions. Again, I watched and re-watched the scenes in which interesting signs, codes, icons, indices and symbols relate to the construction of particular forms of national culinary capital, and reported them in Chapters 6 and 7. In conclusion, I have consistently borrowed the style of image analysis from Hollows (2003b) and her look at the first of Oliver's shows, with much regard to the technical elements without becoming too analytical. Thus, the analysis focused less on dishes or what the chefs cook, and more on elements of their cooking that create distinction in relation to the nation.

The Fifth Step: Interview(s)

After analysing the shows, I planned the structures of the interviews I would carry out with the two producers. Before contacting them, I obtained ethical approval from the University. This was quite easy because my research did not involve minors or people unaware of being interviewed. I contacted the Italian producer and he showed a lot of interest in my study. I also searched for an email address of the British producer, but Fresh One's website does not display any e-mail address. I prepared the two lists of broad topics I wanted to discuss, and after the postponement of a couple

of meetings, I interviewed and tape-recorded the Italian producer in his office. He overtly answered all my questions, giving me information relevant for the political economy analysis of the Italian show. Additionally, he also added interesting details on the figure of Vissani and on his view of television. Finally, he displayed a very critical view of the political economy of Italian television, that he considers to be too bound to the political system. All of this is reported in the first part of Chapter 6, when I analyse the Italian broadcaster, the production company and the show from a political economy perspective.

Meanwhile, I tried to contact *Fresh One* several times, by phone and fax. Eventually I managed to talk to one of the assistants of the producer, and he told me to send a request via fax. After I sent my request via fax, eventually the producer of *Jamie's Great Britain* contacted me by email and fixed an interview. Interestingly, 20 minutes before the interview, she sent me another email saying that she could not be interviewed, because she needed permission from the company. Permission evidently never arrived, and she never replied to any attempt to contact her again; the same happened with other members of the staff. In short, I did not receive any answer anymore. When I contacted Channel 4, the commissioning office told me that I should contact Fresh One. The director of the show, who is freelance, also told me to contact Fresh One, so I was caught in a never-ending loop. In Chapter 7, I provide an explanation of this behaviour, which I link to the political economy of Fresh One and to Oliver's ultra-powerful role within it. Moreover, I also explain how this refusal led me to further focus on the political economy of Fresh One, achieving interesting results in the process.

The Sixth Step: Political Economy Analysis

The last method adopted in this study was political economy analysis. I applied this method to the companies producing and broadcasting the two shows, La7, Verve Media Company, Channel 4 and Fresh One. I gathered data from the interview with the Italian producer, official records on the Internet, interviews with Jamie Oliver and Lorenzo Torracca (the owner of the Italian production company). In addition, I also

analysed interviews with media practitioners working for one of these companies, newspapers, economic websites and magazines, financial reports on the analysed companies and other studies.

After gathering this data, I cross-checked all of this with each other to have a clear scenario of the political economy of these four companies. At this stage, I isolated the most interesting outcomes relating to my research questions and then again cross-checked these results with what I had found out in the other parts of this study, thanks to other methods. This last part of the analysis confirmed many results of the previous part and challenged others, and in the end contributed to the clarity of the whole analysis.

Data Presentation

The results of this analysis are in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis, while Chapter 8 summarises the most important of them by concluding the entire study. More specifically, Bourdieu's field analysis and the political economy analysis of Italian and British TV and food TV are in Chapter 5. They serve the purpose of underlining the modalities by which the nation has affected TV and food TV in Italy and Britain over the years. The political economy, moving image and semiotic analysis of the shows are in Chapters 6 and 7. The political economy analysis concerns the companies producing and broadcasting the shows, while the textual analysis regards the episodes analysed.

Finally, on the one hand, the interview with the Italian producer supports parts of Chapter 5 on Italian food TV, and parts of Chapter 6, centring on Vissani's show. On the other hand, the failure of the interview with the British producer has been balanced by further reading of Oliver's interviews, articles, and financial reports on him and his many companies.

Reliability and Validity

In quantitative research, reliability and validity are indices of research quality that can easily be verified. Despite widespread doubts, I believe that even qualitative research can be valid and reliable, but by adopting different perspectives. Traditionally, “reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated. In other words, if the study is repeated, will it yield the same results?” (Merriam 2009, p.220). Similarly, validity refers to credible and believable outcomes, and “consists of the strategies used to rule out the threat of alternative explanation” (Neergaard and Ulhoi 2007, p.12).

In this thesis, the interpretation of the data put forward by the researcher is the principal instrument of investigation. This means that if another researcher repeated this study, he or she would find different and alternative outcomes, rendering the study invalid and unreliable for quantitative standards. However, qualitative research must follow different paths to prove its quality, especially within the constructivist paradigm, which starts from the assumption that reality is multiple and constructed. Moreover, reality in qualitative research *must* be interpreted, as “several interpretations of the same data can be made, and all stand until directly contradicted by new evidence” (Merriam 2009, p.222).

Among the methods suggested to achieve validity and reliability in qualitative research are triangulation and the audit trail. “The use of multiple methods of collecting data (methods triangulation) ... can be seen as a strategy for obtaining consistent and dependable data, as well as data that are most congruent with reality” (Merriam 2009, p.222). The methodological approach put forward in this thesis triangulated various methods to gather and analyse data (i.e. textual analysis, political economy, Bourdieu's field analysis, and an interview for one half of the investigation) and even combined different theoretical approaches (from Bourdieu to cultural studies). This fulfilled the qualitative strategy to obtain valid and reliable data.

What is more, Lincoln and Guba (1985) put forward the method of the 'audit trail'. “Just as an auditor authenticates the accounts of a business, independent readers can

authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of the researcher” (Merriam 2009, p.222). In agreeing with this method, I have constructed the second part of this chapter as a sequence of steps. I have clarified the process and the various stages that have led me from analysing the general scenario to the specific analysis of the shows, to the interview and the political economy investigation. In so doing, I believe that the need for validity and reliability has been fulfilled.

Finally, “external validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations” (Merriam 2009, p.223), and is also termed generalizability, the possibility to generalise what has been found out by investigating the sample. This term is in total contrast with the primary assumption of qualitative research that points out that what has been found only counts for what has been analysed. Thus, “generalizability in the statistical sense ... cannot occur in qualitative research” (Merriam 2009, p.224). However, drawing on Eisner (1991), Merriam underlines that in our daily life, we learn more from single cases than from choosing randomly from reality. Transferability is thus the right way of assessing how a qualitative study may be generalised, and here “the burden of proof lies less with the original investigator than with the person seeking to make an application elsewhere” (Lincoln and Guba 1985, p.298).

The Reflection of the Researcher on His Personal History

Before concluding this chapter on the methodological apparatus supporting this study, I must deal with the potential biases coming from my background, which may affect this research. In the introduction, I have already written that my previous role as TV writer may influence my analysis of the food shows. Here, however, I highlight more general issues stemming from my professional background.

Right from the start of this research, I have agreed with Swartz that reflection “arises from the need to control the relationship of the researcher to the object of inquiry” (2013, pp.20-1). I have been aware that “the researcher always faces the danger of being captured by a particular viewpoint, a partial viewpoint in the field of analysis” (Swartz 2013, p.24). I have long reflected on my perspective on TV. After fifteen

years of professional activity, always accompanied by a free-lance academic career, in 2010 I decided to give up being a TV writer. This was because I was tired of working in something I did not believe in anymore. Around 2006, in fact, I started to consider the programmes I was working on, their meanings and symbols, as not part of myself anymore. In the meantime, my academic career was growing and led me to develop deeper insights about this medium and to pursue this PhD.

I started from the different ways in which food shows represent food and people in Italy and Britain. For example, these shows mostly depict women and peasants in Italy, and men and the middle-class in Britain, as sources of good food. I also realised that these differences are often stereotyped and represented as pertaining to Southern and Northern Europe respectively. But even in Slovenia, a Mediterranean country that in the past was part of Italy, food on TV is represented differently from Italy, and the same happens in Spain. Thus, it is not a matter of geographical position, but, I realised, of nation. In conclusion, I have found that 'the nation', its constructed and powerful nature, and its mutual relationships with the media (with varying degrees of independence) are the principal reasons for these differences. Once the analysis started, I realised that I could not separate myself from my past, and that my background might even provide me with a different perspective in comparison to other researchers.

Also in this case, Bourdieu helped me understand the problem. For him, reflection is part of the work of the researcher, because it guarantees the unique nature of his/her point of view, and helps overcome the problem of forms of analysis which are too objective (Bourdieu 1996). Awareness, and not suppression, is the weapon that the researcher must adopt to deal with his/her personal biases. I agreed that “the researcher needs to collate multiple data sources and methods so as not to limit her or his view by embracing any one” (Swartz 2013, p.24). The complex combination of my research methods also aimed at escaping this danger, and at providing a more complete panorama of the relationships between and within the analysed fields, and of how national culinary capital is constructed in the shows. Finally, analysing TV shows from different perspectives also helped me form a more complete idea of the

system of power, which TV is only a part of. In conclusion, I may say that reflection and awareness of potential biases have supported this work in line with Bourdieu's theory.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together the key methods of this study, the process undertaken by the researcher, and implications linked to the quality of the study. In the first section, I have linked my ontological and epistemological assumptions to the general methodological approach and to the various methods adopted in this thesis. I have demonstrated that adopting a multiplicity of points of view, and agreeing with the centrality of power relationships, are inextricably intertwined with relativism and constructivism. In fact, adopting many points of view is in line with the assumption that reality is relative and understandable in a limited way. Moreover, believing in the constructed and multiple nature of reality means that reality is only partially constructed by people's everyday interactions. In fact, it is predominantly constructed by powerful agents for power-related reasons. Each of these agents builds his/her reality to create consensus and overwhelm the realities of the other agents.

After this, I have explained what the methods adopted by this study are. First, I have focused on historical field analysis as the key method to shed light on the influence of the nation over TV and food TV in Italy and Britain; second, I have centred on moving image and semiotic analysis, which I have applied to the two analysed food shows; third, I have highlighted the importance of in-depth interviews to learn from the producers of the programmes about the production process and the approach of the shows to food; and fourth, I have demonstrated how political economy analysis may also add interesting details to my analysis, in relation to the companies that have produced and broadcast the shows.

The following section has focused on the process that has led me from the general analysis of the fields, to the specific analysis of the shows. I have also focused on the in-depth investigations developed thanks to the interview with the Italian producer and the political economy analysis. After this, I have explained issues of data

presentation, reliability and validity that are usually related to qualitative research and the ways in which I have guaranteed the quality of this study. Finally, I have explained the important role played by reflection throughout the research process. In the next chapter, I contextualise my analysis by focusing on the fields of Italian and British TV and food TV, and on the influence of the nation on them.

CHAPTER 5

TV AND FOOD TV IN ITALY AND BRITAIN: NATIONAL INFLUENCES

Introduction

This chapter analyses the contexts in which *Ti Ci Porto Io* and *Jamie's Great Britain* have been produced and broadcast, and investigates how the fields of TV and food TV have been affected by the nation in Italy and Britain over the years. First, I illustrate whether or not and how the nation has controlled and influenced the field of TV. Second, I report how elements of the constructed national food culture relate to the field of food TV and have contributed to the construction of national culinary capital. With respects to methods, I have analysed the fields of TV and food TV through Bourdieu's field and political economy analysis. As written in Chapter 4, Bourdieu's field analysis sheds light on two elements: first, the relationships between fields (in this case between the nation and TV), and between national food culture and food TV; second, it helps clarify the relationships among the agents in the same field, and in this case it helps to discover who the dominant and emergent agents in the field of TV and food TV are.

Moreover, political economy analysis, as designed in Chapter 4, helps me to unveil not only the owners of the companies involved in these fields, but also the economic and political interests and force-relationships within the field. In this chapter, political economy analysis applies to national television, while in the following chapters, it applies to the broadcasters and the production companies of the two analysed shows. What is more, cultural capital in general, and culinary capital specifically, intrinsically relate to political economy, as pointed out by Warde (2008b) and discussed in my theoretical framework. The combination of historical analysis with political economy analysis is not a novelty (Stark 1994). In fact, historical analysis is “a level of analysis in the Marxian political economic study of capitalism”, and history “is concerned with diversity, process and change across capitalist history” (Westra 2010, p.76).

In Bourdieu's terms, this chapter draws on the point that in each of the two countries, national television and food TV are two fields that interact and continually change, creating forms of economic and cultural capital, legitimate taste and dominant ideologies. More specifically, while the super-field of national TV creates forms of general cultural capital, the sub-field of food TV shapes a precise form of cultural capital, the culinary one. Additionally, the historical perspective has helped me analyse the field as a continuously changing element. I define national TV as a *super-field* and food TV as a *sub-field* when I want to contrast them, because the first also contains the second. National TV is in fact made up of various genres of TV, among which is that of food.

It is interesting that in both countries many changes have occurred because of neoliberalism. In my theoretical framework, neoliberalism relates to Bourdieu's theory in three different aspects. First, it concentrates the power into the hands of a few people, creating huge economic concentrations that threaten pluralism (Gorsky 2013). Second, neoliberal societies challenge Bourdieu's view that capital is distributed chiasmically within fields; that is, those who have more economic capital have less cultural capital, and vice versa. Just because of concentrations, in these kinds of societies, those who own the economic power tend to hold the cultural power too (Fantasia 2010). Actually, even Bourdieu (2003) in his last work acknowledges this. Third, my theoretical framework is also constructed around the concept of Otherness that neoliberal policies tend to produce to favour unity among the elites (Mitchell 2004).

Related to all of this, Chapter 5 is split into two sections, the first on Italy and the second on Britain. Each section starts with a history of the field and a political economy analysis of the super-field of the national TV. A second subsection historically investigates the sub-field of food television within each nation, its particular links to national ideologies and tastes, and the constructed forms of national culinary capital. The first section of this chapter focuses on Italy.

Italy

Italian Television

Almost all the major television studies scholars agree that the history of Italian TV must be divided into two parts, the first from 1954 to the early 1980s, and the second from the mid-1980s to the present (Eco 1983; Casetti and Odin 1990). I totally agree with this partition, however, I also add a third period, which relates to the last two or three years. Besides the temporal partition however, what many scholars agree on is the strong dependence of Italian television on Government, Parliament and individual political parties (Padovani 2005; Mazzoleni 2003).

Such a particular landscape became almost unique in the world when the owner of commercial TV, Silvio Berlusconi, was elected Prime Minister and thus controlled public TV too. This is the topic of a specific subsection below, but here this may help to understand how Italian TV must be analysed through the political connections and the vested and unvested interests that have always underlain it from the origins to the present. Therefore, I argue that Bourdieu's field and political economy analysis must constitute the necessary starting point of the analysis of Italian TV.

As I demonstrate below, from one period to another, some elements have changed while others have remained unchanged. This is part of the “periodic adjustment” (Warde 2004, p.13) already explained in my theoretical framework. In this case, the first period of Italian TV (1954-1982) saw the prevalence of the Catholicism and the monopoly of public TV; the second period (1983-2010) marked the entrance of Berlusconi's private ownership of the channels in a field that was previously exclusively public. Finally, the third period testifies to Berlusconi's loss of power and the advent, in 2012, after eight years of political negotiations, of the new technology of Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT); the latter has allowed programmes previously confined to satellite channels to become more popular.

The First Period: The Catholic Hegemony (1954-1982)

Italian TV was born in 1954 as a public service provided by Rai, the public company already responsible for radio broadcasting (Chiarenza 2002). Rai was the only company allowed to broadcast nationally until the 1980s, and was totally controlled by the Parliament and the Government (Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007), which elect its board, even today. For this reason, control over Rai was exerted by the two major political parties in Parliament, the Catholic DC (continuously in charge of the Government from 1948 to 1992) and the left-wing Communist PCI and its post-Communist heirs, in opposition to varying degrees from 1948 to 1996. The left wing, even though in opposition, along with the Catholics in 1948 contributed to creating the Italian Constitution, which is still active today. This meant that the DC and PCI also shared similar policies, even though the first played a more hegemonic role in government and the second a weaker role in opposition.

Bourdieu's point on the state with two hands (Bourdieu 1998c) is really useful here. He argues that the state manages the economic capital with its right hand, and the cultural one with its left. Moreover, the Catholic presence in Italy may certainly be referred to the theory of dominant discourse, which is “a system of statements, practices, and institutional structures that share common values” (Hare-Mustin 1994, p.19) and “reflect the changing nature of structures of power” (Tator and Henry 2006, p.115). In this light, Italian TV may be seen as the left hand of the Italian state; a hand totally controlled by Catholicism with the partial exception of the Communist party.

Rai was the only broadcaster allowed to transmit, and therefore the only agent in the field. This meant that it did not have to struggle against other agents. Moreover, the fact that the owner of the only agent was the state, unified the agent and the regulator into one body, forming a powerful concentration of interests in one sole element. In order to guarantee Catholic ideology, Catholic politicians appointed Catholic directors and managers to the top positions of national TV. Rai's first CEO, Filiberto Guala, stepped down to become a Trappist monk (Chiarenza 2002), and the second, Ettore Bernabei, imposed strong censorship that even banned words such as 'lover'

and 'member' (which in Italian and other languages also refers to the penis) (Emanuelli 2004).

More specifically, in those years a lot of debate arose between high and popular culture. In short, “popular culture is mass produced commercial culture, whereas high culture is the result of an individual act of creation. The latter, therefore, deserves a moral and aesthetic response” (Storey 2013, p.6). On Rai, programmes focused mostly on high culture and on educational aims, with documentaries, adaptation of novels and theatre plays (see the first Rai schedule in Hibberd 2008, p.68), and partially on popular culture, with Italian songs and light theatre (Facchinotti 2003). In general, Italian public TV promoted austere ways of living, a conservative view of the woman and a strong sense of Italian identity (Chiarenza 2002). Moreover, some fear of the Other emerged, encouraged by the fact that until 1848, Italy had almost always been controlled by foreign countries (Scalfari 2009). Otherness was also understood in a religious sense, and, on the day programmes first aired, the Pope addressed the staff of Rai on the dangers of potential non-Catholic infiltrations (Chiarenza 2002). In regard to the theory of dominant discourse, Ventura (2012) argues that Catholic dominant discourse has strongly been the dominant discourse in Italy, and Graziosi (1995) focuses on Catholic dominant discourse in Italy referring to gender roles. Television may thus be seen as a powerful instrument conveying the Catholic dominant discourse throughout the country.

Moreover, many Italian communists shared the main Catholic values (Pratt 2001), such as the rejection of commercial interests, consumerism and competition, and the ideal of a strict and austere lifestyle. This contributed to a tacit alliance that allowed Rai to maintain this position (Chiarenza 2002). As a result, many non-Catholic intellectuals, such as Umberto Eco, Mario Soldati and Lorenzo Mondo were appointed to create and write programmes, and ended up reinforcing this Catholic sense of Italian identity. Specifically, Mario Soldati presented the first Italian food show, which I analyse in the subsection on Italian food TV below in this chapter. Interestingly for this research, the show is entirely based on the Catholic values mentioned above. As I demonstrate below, this laid the basis for the Italian national

culinary capital on TV. Finally, even though commercial interests were certainly not a priority for Rai, Italian TV was a good business for its real owners and controllers, the politicians, at least in terms of votes. They considered TV as a new territory to plunder, an “*instrumentum regni*” (Morcellini 2002, p.14), giving way in the 1970s and 1980s to the so called *lottizzazione*, the acknowledged partition of channels and programmes, which officially belonged to the political parties. The student movements of 1968 and the 1970s and the Rai reformation in 1975 did not manage to soften the influence of politics over public TV. In the end, the fact that Italian people and media commonly call it “*Mamma Rai*” (mother Rai) (Hibberd 2008, p.72) only hides and softens the hegemonic role exercised by this company.

To sum up, in this period Italian TV was strongly affected by the meta-field of the state at a political level, with the dominant political party, the DC, imposing its people and its ideology on TV. Always in Bourdieu's term, Italian television may even be considered as the left hand of the state, because it was controlled by people that directly expressed the dominant discourse of Italy at that time, the Catholic one. Moreover, Catholic agents found a useful ally in the agents that should have been in opposition to them, the Communists. In fact the Communist area shared some Catholic beliefs and ended up supporting Catholic hegemony. As a result, Catholic hegemony was overwhelming, as religions can sometimes be (Bourdieu et al. 1994).

The Second Period: Berlusconi's Era (1983-2010)

The first, important “periodic adjustment” (Warde 2004, p.13) in the field of Italian TV occurred at the beginning of the 1980s, when Italy was also reached by neoliberalism, but in a really particular way. Since the early 1980s, a new kind of TV has taken its place in Italy, the so called *neo-televisione* (new television) (Eco 1983; Casetti and Odin 1990). Everything started on a political level, and this confirms how much the field of Italian TV has always been dependent on the field of politics (Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007). In fact, after some political and juridical changes of the mid-1970s (Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007), private channels were allowed to

transmit in Italy, but only on the local scale. Within a few years, three channels, Rete 4 (owned by the publisher Mondadori), Italia 1 (owned by the publisher Rusconi), and Canale 5 (owned by the entrepreneur Silvio Berlusconi), bypassed the law (Gardini 2005, p.130). In a few words, hundreds of local channels throughout Italy simultaneously transmitted the same shows that were therefore seen in almost the entire country.

Within a short space of time, Canale 5's huge incomes allowed Berlusconi to defeat his opponents. He bought Italia 1 in 1982 and Rete 4 in 1984, becoming the sole private national broadcaster in Italy. This enormous concentration of economic capital had the effect that Berlusconi's "advertising revenue went from ITL12.5 billion (\$7.14 million) in 1980 to ITL880 billion (\$502.86 million) in 1984" (Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007, p.232). When in 1984 some *pretori* (local judges) prevented Berlusconi from broadcasting, Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, who was linked to Berlusconi through friendship and commercial interests (Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007; Katsirea 2008; Mazzetti 2008), intervened. He in fact allowed private companies to broadcast nationally by not enacting a precise law on the matter (Gardini 2005; Hibberd and Sorrentino 2007). With this tacit approval, Italian national commercial television was officially born.

Since then, "Rai's programmes have become increasingly similar to those offered by the commercial competitor" (Padovani 2005, p.239, see also Fiorucci 2008). They have pursued commercial rather than educational aims (Valentini 2010), focused on the objectification of the woman (Lerner 2010; Brancati 2011), and centred on entertainment, giving up showing the actual reality of Italian life. Therefore, Berlusconi's idea of TV not as a representation of versions of reality, but as a representation of what Italians want to watch (Zanardo 2010) and dream of, also became the content of public television.

This conflict of interests worsened the day Berlusconi became Prime Minister and many Mediaset executives occupied key roles in both Forza Italia (Berlusconi's political party), and Rai. From 1994, Berlusconi actually owned three channels and controlled the other three (Hibberd 2004 and 2007; Padovani 2005; Ferrari and

Ardizzoni 2010), even buying the biggest Italian publisher, Mondadori, Milan Football Club, the source of an enormous symbolic capital, and Medusa, an important film production and distribution firm. Moreover, the major news programmes became strongly biased towards Berlusconi's party (Europa 2003; Il Fatto Quotidiano 2011). Thus, Berlusconi controlled “close to 90% of all the information available to the Italian population, creating a situation that was brought to the attention of the EU because seriously threatening Italian democracy” (Ferrari and Ardizzoni 2010, p.xiv). Furthermore, he also bought significant shares in broadcasting companies in Germany, France and Spain (Amienyi and Soler-Burguillos 1996). Finally, he also tried to partially privatise Rai (Hibberd 2004).

On a political economy level, this led to one man personally concentrating, in Bourdieu terms, the majority of the economic, cultural and statist capital available in the country. In fact, in 2001 “Rai and Mediaset also shared 96 per cent of advertising resources available for television (65 per cent to Mediaset, 31 per cent to Rai)” (Padovani 2005, p.230). Many observers have also accused the two left-wing Governments of this period of having protected Berlusconi's power (Mazzoleni 2003; Gomez and Travaglio 2005).

On a cultural level, the lack of pluralism led to TV shaped only by one ideology, made up of the worship of money, a sexualised representation of the woman (Zanardo 2010) and a negative representation of the Other (Ferrari 2010). Moreover, popular culture became almost the sole form of culture represented, while high culture almost disappeared. Even though all of this may seem really far from the Catholic context of the first period, Berlusconi's model negotiated both difference and continuity with the old model. Among the elements already present in Italy, there was certainly discrimination against women, which had already characterised Catholic ideology (Carmody 1982). Berlusconi added a new, reinforcing element, the sexualization of women, which had been completely extraneous to Catholic ideology.

Among the novelties, it was clear that commercial TV's first aim was to make money. Worryingly, this also became the first aim of public TV. For example, public and commercial TV, together with other companies, founded *Auditel*, a company that

since 1986 has quantitatively measured programmes' ratings (Zanardo 2010), replacing Rai's old qualitative measurement, which better fits a public service. Since the 1990s, ratings of the various channels have become important not only for producers and executives, but also for the man on the street. In fact, they have been more and more present on every evening news programme. All the broadcasters have continually shown off the winning ratings of their channels. From simple testimonies of the accumulation of economic capital (ratings are connected to advertising incomes), I argue that ratings have also become sources of cultural capital. In fact, those who get the highest ratings are extolled by journalists and opinion makers as 'the winners' to the wider audience.

What is more, on an economic level, Italian TV became a colony of other Western countries. In fact, on the one hand Italian broadcasters continued to buy formats and shows from other countries, such as the UK, the USA, France and Germany, to the point that "in the Italian market, only 3 per cent of programming based on formats originates with Italian formats" (Barca and Marzulli 2010, p.69). On the other hand, Italian producers sold their programmes abroad very rarely (Barca and Marzulli 2010), never creating the winning 'made in Italy' brand already experienced in other fields, such as fashion and cars. As stated by the Italian producer that I interviewed, Italian shows are filmed for the Italian audience only, without the technical global standards necessary for a global product (see Appendix 2). The limited spread of Italian TV abroad reinforced Italian isolation and differences from the other European countries. All of this limited the incomes of Italian TV, but also allowed Berlusconi's model to develop in Italy without foreign observers seeing and knowing the cultural and political level reached by Italian TV and Italian society. Thus, isolation also became politically advantageous for the Government.

In the end, this second period of the field of Italian TV is strongly affected by neoliberalism. Concentration of economic resources, concentration of different forms of power and construction of Otherness in relation to women and people coming from other countries, are the main characteristics of the period 1983-2010. Actually, this period is still continuing, but since 2010 it has been overlapped by a new model,

as I demonstrate below. However what makes the Italian case unique is the rise of Berlusconi, which prevented any detachment between the state and TV.

Due to these conflicts of interest, I argue that what happened to these fields in those years challenges Couldry's theory that even the media provide a form of meta-capital (Couldry 2003). Here, the two meta-fields appear to be a unique, powerful field populated by agents all referring to the new dominant ideology and to the same person, Berlusconi, and any negotiation is not only impossible, but also fruitless. In relation to the previous period, Italian TV added to the primacy of money, but also confirmed some old elements such as the secondary role of the woman, who in this period was also sexualised. Finally, since then, in an era in which formats are globalised, Italian TV has bought many products from abroad but has not sold Italian programmes, because they still today reflect Berlusconi's ideology (see Chapter 6) and are thus not appealing for other European countries.

The Third Period: The Present Scenario (2011-present)

As I argue in my theoretical framework, television is shaped by both political economic interests (Bourdieu 1998a) and technology (Williams 2003). The second change in the field of Italian food TV has been brought about by these two elements. First, in 2011 Berlusconi was replaced as Prime Minister by Mario Monti. This did not happen through an election, but because of a decision of the President of the Republic, Napolitano, and, allegedly, of many European and world leaders (La Repubblica 2014). Moreover, he was definitively convicted by a jury in 2013 for fiscal fraud (Sala 2013). The fast decline of Berlusconi's political and statist capital and the slower decline of his cultural model, not yet concluded, have affected the economic situation of his companies, and Mediaset's income has been decreasing since 2011 (TV Digital Divide 2012). Second, the Italian television system has been changing technologically. Since 2012, many channels, owned mostly by foreign companies such as Sky, Fox, Discovery and others, have been able to shift from satellite and low-rating channels. They moved to Digital Terrestrial Television

(DTT), and became available to all the members of the audience as easily accessible as the others. Some once small channels, such as *Real Time* (owned by Discovery Channel), have grown substantially and today get higher ratings than old mainstream broadcasters such as La7 or Rete 4 (TV Digital Divide 2014).

Generally speaking, these channels adapt or translate foreign shows, from *The British Bake Off* to *The Late Night Show*, highlighting a sort of colonization of Italy. In doing so, these channels are very important for this study, because they have been promoting the new role of the celebrity chef, as I analyse in the section regarding the food TV of present. Another break with the past is the fact that qualitative measurement of shows has been reintroduced since November 2013 (Morasca 2013), although not by Rai itself, but by a private company. What is more, Rai's refusal to broadcast Miss Italia, an obsolete beauty contest in which women were sexualised for forty years, seems to represent a new way of depicting the woman and a return to the old role of public service.

In conclusion, from a political economy perspective, the television market has been re-balanced after the huge concentration of power of the previous period. Politics and technology have brought about this process; the first by changing the agents dominating the field, and the second by introducing new platforms that have allowed small channels to be viewed by bigger parts of the audience. Thus, even in this third period, the state shows great influence over the field of TV, and even here the single parties have a great influence on deciding how TV must be shaped.

Italian Food TV: Historical View of the Field

In this subsection, I analyse the field of Italian food TV by dividing it into the same three periods indicated above. My point is that the same agents that have affected the super-field of TV have also interacted in this sub-field. Thus, national ideologies have affected the representation of forms of constructed national food culture and of national culinary capital.

The First Period: Sacred Food

When Rai started broadcasting, Italian food culture had already been constructed with the fundamental contribution of Artusi's book (Capatti and Montanari 2003). However, Hibberd (2011, p.81) points out that “only in the past sixty years has Italy developed a fully-fledged national food cuisine”, and I agree with Hibberd that TV was fundamental in this process. I have demonstrated above that the field of TV, in these years, was strongly affected, or better controlled, by Catholic agents. Bourdieu argues that the meta-field of the nation strongly influences other fields, thus in this section, I report whether or not the Catholic hegemony influenced the representation of national culinary capital in the food shows of this period. First, I analyse what the Catholic concept of food is, and second I investigate the possible links to the food shows of this first period.

Food is fundamental in almost any religion, through rituals, sacrifice and celebrations (Albala 2011), and it has always been important in Christianity. Bread, fish and wine are present in many episodes of the Old and New Testaments (see also Eden 2011). For Catholicism, simple food makes people pure and symbolises divinity. Moreover, healthy food was key in Catholicism as food giving purity (Eden 2011). For Catholics, simple food was first of all a way of fighting the sin of gluttony, which they also considered to be a moral issue (Moyer 2011). To fight against gluttony, Catholicism “influenced the development of gastronomy. Chefs were inspired to create elaborate fish and vegetable dishes ... technically adhering to the letter of the dietary law” (Albala 2011, p.16). Furthermore, in monasteries, meals consisted of food either agriculturally produced *in situ*, or bought at the market, but in any case monks' diet was centred on the really simple dishes of monastic rule (Musumeci 2011). Instead, the impure food of luxury 'endangered' the world (Moyer 2011). Finally, when Italian Catholics dealt with the food of the Other, for example in Latin America in the sixteenth century, they termed it as dirty and dangerous, especially when prepared by women (Martel 2011). In the end, Catholic food is simple, healthy, pure, locally Italian and threatened by 'the enemy'. It is not by chance that this is also the form of national culinary capital suggested by the first Italian TV shows.

In fact in this period, from 1954 to the early 1980s, the most important food shows broadcast by Rai were *Viaggio Lungo la Valle del Po* and *A Tavola alle 7* (Petrini 2005; Bonilli 2013). *Viaggio Lungo la Valle del Po* (Soldati 1957) was broadcast in 1957 and 1958, three years after the birth of Italian TV. It was written, directed and presented by the novelist and film director Mario Soldati, and was the first food travelogue, at least in Italy (Grasso 2000; Bonilli 2013). The show is a continuous celebration of Italian food as the quintessence of naturalness. Soldati discovers Italian history and traditions (Hibberd 2011) and shows that in 1957 and 1958, many Italian people produced, sold, prepared and consumed food exactly as Italians would have done in a stereotyped rural past. Food made by hand in small villages and the countryside is continually extolled, while cities are almost absent and technology is repeatedly considered as a threat. The show represents this food as 'genuine', untouched, unsophisticated and uncorrupted, celebrated by a presenter that travelled around northern Italy often dressed like a priest, as in Figure 4.



Figures 4 and 5: Mario Soldati in *Viaggio Lungo la Valle del Po* and *Ave Ninchi* - housewife

In the second show, *A Tavola alle 7* (Ninchi and Veronelli 1974), broadcast in the early 1970s for three years, one of the two presenters was Luigi Veronelli, an anarchist twice convicted, once of publishing erotic literature and once of encouraging peasants to revolt (Della Rosa 2004; Mura 2009). He considered big companies, multinationals and 'modern' food as a threat to fight against. The other presenter, in the third edition, was Ave Ninchi (Figure 5), a famous actress and a descendant of one of the most important Italian theatre families. Ninchi was about 50, proud of being overweight, good at cooking, and perfectly embodying the figure (and the stereotype) of the Italian housewife of those years. In the show, Veronelli and Ninchi host their guests in a simple kitchen. While the guests cook, Veronelli adds historical and cultural details, and Ninchi promotes the dishes' simplicity and goodness and the 'right' way of cooking them.

In these early programmes the representation of peasants, their food and their villages served the purpose of unifying Italy (Bindi 2007). In doing so, television replicated the same simplicity and naturalness, nostalgia for a mythical past and fear of technology (Rosati and Saba 2004) of Italian food culture in general (Capatti and Montanari 2003). Finally, all of this links to the part of my theoretical framework pointing out that a constructed naturalness is more effective in creating membership than an overt construction of reality (Olwig 2008). However, no one before has linked this natural, mythical and pure representation of Italian food to what I have found above; that is, the Catholic hegemony and the Catholic perception of food.

In fact, Soldati's food is totally in line with the Catholic values of purity, nature, non-contamination, austerity, idealization of poor and simple people, and underrepresentation of the Other. In his show, Soldati simply translates Catholic values into the language of food. This 'sacred food', as I call it, gives the viewer that "effect of universality" (Bourdieu et al. 1994, p.16) that for Bourdieu religions and the state succeed in inculcating. The same happens on the second show, with an interesting novelty. The anarchist and the housewife, in fact, perfectly embody the two principal agents, the Catholic and the left wing, which legitimise the taste of sacred food. Moreover, neither Ninchi nor Veronelli were professional chefs, a

category that in Italy has never been successful (Parasecoli 2004; Blythman 2006). The show is a continuous celebration of (mostly female) home cooking, and Ninchi, who was actually an actress, here represents a stereotypical Italian housewife, close to the Catholic ideal of the woman 'tutta casa e chiesa' (all home and church).

In conclusion, the Catholic hegemony in the field of food TV produced a precise form of national culinary capital, that I term sacred food, a type of food, never relating to the Other, produced as in the past, uncorrupted by technology, strictly Italian and seen as a gift of nature. Moreover, sacred food must be prepared in the 'right' way, and is always in peril, because 'someone else' threatens its purity and sacredness. On the contrary, foods from the cities and/or involving technology, improperly prepared or 'fast' are never legitimated, and therefore they do not allow the accumulation of this form of national culinary capital. All of this relates to Bourdieu's theory of the distance from necessity and reality (Bourdieu 2010). In fact, these shows are totally immersed in a mythical representation of the countryside, and do not need to cope with the real world. Interestingly, idealised versions of sacred food also appear on Anglo-Saxon food shows about Italy, such as *Jamie's Great Escape* (Oliver 2005b), *Nigellissima* (Lawson 2012) and many others. This links Italy to sacred food on a global scale.

The Second Period: Sacred Food in *Trattoria*

At the level of the super-field of Italian television in general, I have demonstrated above that after a "periodic adjustment" (Warde 2004, p.13), in Berlusconi's era Catholic values have been overlapped by capitalist ones, such as the primacy of money and the production of Otherness (Mitchell 2004). At the same time, women's position has continued to be subordinate and stereotyped, with women even more strongly sexualised. The role of the woman is one of the new aspects of the field in this period, and, as I demonstrate below, implies deep ideological meanings.

In the sub-field of food TV, the first piece of evidence is that, while in the first period only a few programmes focused on food, since the 1990s food has been

overrepresented on TV (Diamanti 2012). This has brought about a change especially in the role of the presenters. First of all, as I have demonstrated in Buscemi (2014b), the presenters of cooking shows have almost all been women and not professional chefs (and on one of these shows, *La Prova del Cuoco*, housewives challenge male chefs). Men chefs were only broadcast on satellite channels, and only gained lower ratings. They will only become an important element in the third period of the history of the field (see below).



Figure 6: Antonella Clerici in *La Prova del Cuoco*

As a presenter, in these programmes the woman certainly negotiated a new role that first confirmed sacred food and second intertwined this form of culinary capital with neoliberalism (Buscemi 2014b). In fact, as reported in my literature review, TV programmes of this period continue to celebrate an idealised food of the past (Parasecoli 2004) and presenters such as Benedetta Parodi and Antonella Clerici (Figure 6) suggest a kind of food that is still sacred food. Thus, the dominant form of national culinary capital is still the sacred one. However, these presenters also deal with the neoliberal age. They are 'celebrities', even though they are not 'chefs', but journalists or TV presenters (Buscemi 2014b). They write books, promote kitchen utensils, food brands and shops, and in their shows they continually reinforce these activities. Moreover, they continuously represent forms of home cooking, repeating that they cook for their husbands, kids and friends, but never professionally. Thus, they are celebrity (non)chefs or, I would say, 'celebrity housewives'. In combining

this double nature, the celebrity and the housewife, in Buscemi (2014b) I argue that these presenters embody the model of the *trattoria*, which is the Italian family restaurant, where the woman cooks and the man serves the tables. In this way, these presenters are half entrepreneurs and half housewives. Moreover, they are often sexualised not only through clothes, but also through the sexual functions that food may have, and through sexual jokes that they often repeat. In the end, in updating the old model of the housewife played by Ninchi, these presenters continue to promote sacred culinary capital; and in being semi-entrepreneurs, they perfectly embody the neoliberal role of the celebrity cook.

I argue that the persistence of sacred food in Italy has also been possible thanks to a new agent in the field, Slow Food, which, since 1989, has fought against the extinction of local Italian foods and against the fast food ideology (MacDonald 2013). Slow Food's fights against 'bad' globalisation, technology, and modernity as applied to food have perfectly mirrored the sacred culinary capital that I have focused on above. Not by chance, Slow Food's founder and President, Carlo Petrini considers Soldati, Ninchi and Veronelli as three forerunners of *Slow Food* (Petrini 2005). In doing so, Slow Food has strongly promoted two elements of sacred food, nationalism and women's discrimination.

First, Slow Food is decidedly to do with ethnocentrism, as its “model is clearly rooted in a conception of Europe, and more specifically Italy, as a source of civilized practice” (MacDonald 2013, p.95). In fact, the Italian state has supported many Slow Food initiatives, among which is the setting up of a university (MacDonald 2013). This has made Slow Food a powerful tastemaker in the fields of the Italian state and of Italian food culture, providing culinary capital in all the three ways theorised by Bourdieu: through cultural goods (local food), schools (by organising meetings in primary and secondary schools, see also Petrini 2011), and institutional certifications (the degree at its university) (Slow Food 2014a). Moreover, Slow Food is a strong supporter of zero-miles food, which is food consumed close to where it is produced. However, on its New York City website, Slow Food promotes “the top importer of Italian food products in New York” (Slow Food NYC 2014) and this is decidedly in

contrast with the zero miles ideology. Furthermore, Slow Food's Italian website promotes *Eataly*, a chain that sells (and transports) Italian food around the world (Slow Food 2012). In short, Slow Food attacks food transportation when it goes from other countries to Italy, but supports it going in the opposite direction. I argue that zero-miles is only a means to protect Italian food from food coming from other countries. Examples of how Slow Food nationalistic principles relate to the Italian state are the recent decision of many local governments to ban ethnic food shops from the city centres (The Guardian 2009) and the case of the politician Zaia, who had to apologise after going to a Chinese restaurant (Merlo 2011).

Second, Slow Food is a left-wing movement that has always backed the weak but, strangely, has never called the role of the Italian woman in the kitchen into question (Meneley 2004; MacDonald 2013). “Is Slow Food a conservative movement ... in that it conserves traditionally binding gender roles?” asks Spring Kurtz (2008, p.105). Finally, even Parasecoli, one of Slow Food's founders, advances doubts on the conservative Slow Food perception of the woman (Probyn 2012). Related to this, I have found that in the list of Slow Food national council, there are 49 men and only 22 women (Slow Food 2014b).

To conclude, the advent of Berlusconi certainly brought about a more capitalist version of the presenter that in this period, and still today, has become an entrepreneur. However, sacred food has continued to be the main form of national culinary capital represented on TV. This persistence has also been helped by the presence of a new agent, Slow Food. Thus, political agents such as parties, national religions such as Catholicism, cultural institutions such as Rai, and “cultural producers like Slow Food orchestrate, mediate and define 'goods' in relation to political objectives” (MacDonald 2013, p.96). However, emergent elements of the first two periods are becoming more powerful in the current stage of this history.

The Third Period: The Italian Way to the Celebrity Chef

Culinary capital “is continually reshaped and potentially rewritten” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.114), and in fact, another adjustment in the field of Italian food TV occurred around 2010, when young male chefs and new shows started being broadcast on minor, satellite and thematic channels. Since 2012, these channels have shifted to DTT, and have become more and more popular. As a result, Italian versions of international formats such as *MasterChef* and *The Great British Bake Off*, and new chefs such as Alessandro Borghese and Simone Rugiati, have joined the field.

Borghese is the most successful, and has the three characteristics that all British celebrity chefs must have: being an entrepreneur, an entertainer and visually memorable (Ashley et al. 2004). Moreover, his self-definition of ‘rock chef’ with his long hair may pigeonhole him into the category of celebrity chef called ‘the Jagger’ (Bourdain 2012). Borghese mixes an international background, passion for rock music and windsurfing in the San Francisco Bay area with his strong roman accent. He may cook the Italian *pasta alla carbonara*, and shortly after an American dish. With his success, sacred food is not the only way of creating national culinary capital on Italian food TV anymore. The case of Gianfranco Vissani is different, but as he is the presenter of the analysed show, I focus on him in the next chapter.

Even though this new model of food TV presenter is mostly male, women are also joining the field of professional cooking. Laura Ravaioli mixes ethnic food and avant-garde cuisine, and female professional chefs are even becoming successful in the professional environment (Cozzella 2013). Given these big novelties, many critics have warned that Italian food culture is mirroring North American behaviours (Marshall 2014). Finally, it is interesting that Slow Food, a sort of litmus paper of Italian food culture, and, as seen, one of the most powerful agents in the field, has also changed its approach over this period. Since 2004, it has created *Terra Madre*, a network of food producers from all over the world (Petrini and Padovani 2005). This is certainly an important acknowledgment of the importance of food coming from other countries, a novelty for the movement, even though the above reported contradictions on zero-miles and the role of the woman still persist.

In conclusion, I have found that in this third period of the field of Italian food TV, some emergent elements of the second phase have become more dominant, even though the old dominant elements still resist. However, the most important outcome of this subsection is that the sacred form of culinary capital, including the role of the woman, is not the sole form of culinary capital on TV anymore. New, male celebrity chefs today represent ideologies and beliefs that they share with Anglo-Saxon celebrity chefs, and professional cooking is no more a male domain. Interestingly, often these male chefs also relate to global forms of culinary capital, and therefore the new trend has widened the range of the forms of culinary capital represented on TV, adding new forms to the already existing. The next section analyses the fields of TV and food TV in Britain, with the same structure as the section on Italy.

Great Britain

British Television

As with the Italian scenario, in this section I historically analyse the fields of national television and food TV in Britain, through Bourdieu's field and political economy analysis. In regard to Britain, the major change from one period to another can be seen in the advent of neoliberalism, which brought about the break up of the monopoly and the birth of ITV and, later, of Channel 4. Thus, the first period runs from the origins of British TV to the 1982, and the second stage from 1982 to the present. In addition, in a final part I analyse the economic role of British TV in the global television market, because I argue that, apart from its historical phases, British TV may also be understood when investigated on the global scale. In fact, in producing and selling food shows abroad, British TV has also exported national ideologies and beliefs relating to food, and thus even forms of national culinary capital, which is the focus of this thesis.

1936-1982: From the Pioneering Age to the Birth of Channel 4

The BBC (British Broadcasting Company) was born in 1922 as a private radio broadcasting company, “owned by the British wireless manufacturers” (Katsirea 2008, p.121). British politicians soon understood that “broadcasting was too important to be left in the hands of a commercial monopoly”, and therefore “the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was established by Royal Charter in 1927” (Katsirea 2008, p.121). Since its re-birth as a public radio broadcaster, the BBC has been assigned a precise role: providing its public with correct and balanced information, with a mixture of institutional and informative elements that the British Government and the BBC meant by the term 'public service'. In the late 1920s, the BBC was also given the job of developing the new technology of television. British television started broadcasting on 2 November 1936 (Currie 2004), and the only broadcaster allowed to do so was the BBC, the public service.

On a theoretical level, public television is an interesting field if analysed through Bourdieu's field analysis. In fact, the specificity of public TV is that the meta-field of the nation influences to varying degrees the field of TV. Moreover, as argued by Couldry (2003), the media are increasingly becoming meta-fields too. Thus, what is interesting to analyse is the way in which the meta-field of the nation influenced the field of TV, and whether or not and how the field of TV acted as a meta-field too. In other words, my focus is on how the two fields interacted in this period, even in comparison to what happened in Italy.

The BBC's aims were clearly stated by the Government, and this confirms the influence of the meta-field of the nation. The BBC had to inform, educate, and entertain, as the famous General Director John Reith summarised, drawing on what the American broadcaster David Sarnoff had said in 1922 (Briggs 1961). Hence, in this first period, the BBC was conceived of “as a vehicle of high culture” (Gardiner 2005, p.178; see also Martin 2000), according to the division already explained about Rai.

Debate over the real independence of the BBC from political power has risen over the years. The corporation was founded by Royal Charter, and “the fact that the BBC was not set up by statute was meant to express its special position and its independence of the House of Commons” (Katsirea_2008, p.121). An attempt to change this independent origin was tried in 1993, but it was rejected because of the necessity to maintain the independence of the public broadcaster (Katsirea 2008). Over the years, the Charter has been repeatedly renewed (the last time in 2007) and the public bodies controlling the BBC have changed (from the Board to the Trust). Certainly “the BBC was frequently subject to political pressure from governments and politicians, who often expected the corporation to behave 'responsibly'” (Gibbons 2013, p.51), and has also been accused by the Government of “anti-government bias” (Martin 2000, p.58). As prescribed by the Charter, “the government not only has the power to determine the future of the BBC. It can also 'censor' BBC broadcasting” (Katsirea 2008, p.122). Incidentally, this power has rarely been exerted, for example in 1988 in the Northern Ireland question, and it has always raised huge protests (Katsirea 2008). In the end, cultural studies have recognised the BBC's “relative independence of power” (Hall 2007, p.383).

What has been said so far makes clear that the British state influenced and controlled the BBC in this first period, but also that public TV cannot be considered as the left hand of the state (Bourdieu 1998c), in contrast to Italian TV. However, after WWII, British politicians realised that while the monopoly had filled the need for balanced information in the years immediately prior to the war, in the new era, Britain needed a multiplicity of voices, and “a debate was soon opened about breaking the BBC's monopoly” (Rixon 2011, p.73). For Britain it was time to set up commercial TV. The first private broadcaster was ITV, which started transmitting in 1955, when Italian television (in its public form) had just been created. In Britain, instead, it was already time to encourage a private broadcaster to animate a market that appeared to be stagnant with just one agent in the field. However, it was clearly stated that ITV's aims were purely commercial. Even though there was some resistance to ITV's commercial programming, those who were in control of TV were “highly sensitive to the enormous profits which were being made by the ITV contractors” (Crisell 2002,

p.113). What is important is that the two models did not overlap with each other, but rather they helped each other. The BBC remained focused on the public service, while ITV mostly transmitted game shows and light entertainment. In fact, ITV did not call into discussion the primacy of the BBC on news programmes, but competed with it for ratings. In September 1956, 1.5 million British homes were equipped to view ITV, and by 1960, it was viewed by about 10 million people (Crisell 2002).

Therefore, the meta-field of the nation continued to influence the field of TV, but split this influence into two parts. It left cultural capital to the BBC, and let ITV accumulate economic capital, and all of this is decidedly different from what happened in Italy. In short, it is possible to say that the British positions in the field fully respected Bourdieu's theory of the chiasmic distribution of cultural and economic capital in the same field. By applying Stringfellow et al.'s model to this field, we may also see that the two agents never get too close to each other, with the BBC next to the pole of legitimisation, and ITV close to that of popularization. Finally, ITV originated as a regional network, and this meant that many shows were produced by external production companies often based out of London. As a result, the presence of the central state in the field of television production decreased, and the role of private enterprise became more relevant. Thus, the field of TV gained a certain independence from the state.

However, the two agents in the field mutually affected each other. ITV created news programmes of good quality, for example the *News at Ten* on air since 1967 (Crisell 2002). Similarly, the BBC improved the allure of its shows, including its news programmes (Buscemi 2012), and became “more competitive and less duopolistic” (Crisell 2002, p.119). In doing so, it was also helped by BBC2, founded in 1964. Citing Negrine (1994), Crisell argues that the two broadcasters had no interest in destroying the competitor, but agreed to share the total audience in a 60-40 relationship (Crisell 2002). Finally, in 1982 the field of British television was added to with another agent, Channel 4. This broadcaster will be analysed in Chapter 7 as it is the broadcaster of *Jamie's Great Britain*; here it is sufficient to say that its birth also marked the beginning of the second period of the field.

In conclusion, the most important outcomes of this section help to explain the relationships between the British state and British TV. At the beginning, British TV was created and controlled by the state to guarantee quality of information and entertainment. When the market was ready for another agent, commercial TV, the British state allowed it to struggle in the field, but with clearly different aims and different forms of capital. Finally, at the end of the 1970s, the state realised that the field was ready for another channel, and authorised the entrance of Channel 4, which started broadcasting in 1982. In comparison to the first period in Italy, firstly, the state controlled and influenced the field of TV by carefully planning the entrance of the new agents. In Italy, instead, public television remained the only agent in the field until the 1980s. Secondly, while in Italy there was an influence exerted by singular parties and Catholic people in charge of Rai, in Britain there was a less specific influence, and never did single parties occupy public television.

1990-Today: The Neoliberal Field

Since the end of the 1980s, British television has undergone one of those processes of “deroutinization” (Hollows and Jones 2010a, 528) that Bourdieu theorises as the moment in which equilibria within the field change. As in Italy and in many other countries, neoliberal policies encouraging private enterprise and competition in the market have favoured the birth of new channels, also supported by new technologies, such as satellite and digital TV. As a result, after Channel 4 in 1982, many new agents have gradually joined the satellite, cable and digital terrestrial British TV systems, such as Sky (Sky Channel since 1982, Sky News since 1989), Channel 5 (since 1997) and many others. These have been competing in a market that has become fully capitalistic. All of this was strongly encouraged by Thatcher's Governments.

The key year of the rise of neoliberalism in the UK broadcasting industry is 1990. In this year, the Broadcasting Act aimed to save the public service provided by the BBC, and to support the commercial goals mainly of ITV and secondarily of Channel

4 (Tunstall 2004). Shortly after, Thatcher's government “handed a monopoly of satellite broadcasting to Murdoch” (Tunstall 2004, p.263) by merging Sky and the old satellite system BSB, and forming BSkyB.

Commercially, old channels seem to be threatened by the new ones. The BBC, ITV and Channel 4, in turn, are today almost always the most watched channels also in a totally revolutionised scenario. Certainly, the plethora of small new channels do not individually get to the top of the ratings, but they do manage to gain a combined 40 per cent rating (Rixon 2011) and a considerable chunk of advertising incomes. One of the most important of these new broadcasters is Sky. Since 1983, Rupert Murdoch's ownership of the company has certainly constituted a strength for this broadcaster, but has also created a conflict of interests when he bought important newspapers such as *The Times* and *The Financial Times*. Certainly, this is not as big an issue as Berlusconi's conflict of interests, but the fact that Britain has discussed this, indicates the major concern about these kinds of risk in Britain in comparison to Italy.

At the political-economic level, as I have explained in my theoretical framework, neoliberal policies reduce the state to a referee (Turner 2003). In this case, the state remains in control of the BBC, but allows the entrance of many other agents in the field, which becomes led by economic capital. Therefore, the British state on the one hand has continued to protect the BBC's independence, while on the other hand it has encouraged the capitalist acceleration of a TV almost entirely aimed at making money.

In this, it resembles the state with two hands theorised by Bourdieu. In fact, “pressured by demands from an expanding commercial sector, UK regulators have gradually relaxed limits of the volume of advertising on British television so that the average viewer is now exposed to 48 TV commercials a day” (Lewis 2013, p.64). Thus, until the mid-1980s the field was almost split in two, with half of the broadcasters providing a public service; since those years, with the advent of the neoliberal trend, the market has become the principal regulator (Crisell 2002). In doing so, British TV has almost realised “the perfect neoliberal vision of a television

system dominated not by regulators, but by zealous entrepreneurs” (Freedman 2008, p.214) whose only aim is to make money.

The new composition of the field, according to some scholars, threatens two important British components: first, the existence of the public service (Lewis 2013), and second, British national culture, with the possibility that “television schedules might become dominated by North American programmes” (Rixon 2011, p.17). Moreover, with the field obeying neoliberal rules, in order to react to the loss of audience, the BBC also started pursuing economic capital and shifting towards popularisation in Stringfellow's et al. (2013) model. The first shifts shocked the British viewer. When the BBC reacted to the success of *Brookside* on Channel 4, and started broadcasting *EastEnders* in 1985, it incurred “the wrath of Mrs Mary Whitehouse, who declared that the series put the nation in 'moral peril'” (Crisell 2002, p.236). After this, soap operas and game shows have crowded the BBC channels, and this shift also affected the sub-field of food TV, the forms of culinary capital that cooking shows have promoted over the years, and even, as I demonstrate below, Oliver's career. This, as with Italy, will be treated in the sections regarding the sub-field of British food TV. Thus, the BBC in this period also focused on popular culture, like commercial TV, even though the popularisation of the BBC originated in the late 1960s (Martin 2000). Moreover, the BBC also started representing high culture in a popular way; for example, when it used a Puccini aria as a soundtrack of the World Cup in 1990 (Storey 2014).

To conclude, in analysing the second period of the field of British TV, I have found that it has been heavily affected by neoliberal policies. The duopoly BBC-ITV of the first period has been totally surpassed and many agents have been allowed to enter the field and have struggled to accumulate economic capital. As frequently in neoliberal societies, the state is a referee and in this case only controls the BBC, which has become a small part of the entire market. What is more, in a market led by economic interests, the BBC has also partially embodied the role of commercial TV. Related to this, in Britain I have not found a 'third period' of TV and food TV, as I have in Italy. Basically, in the last few years the neoliberal trend has further

accelerated in the direction of a global market. Interestingly, to further increase its economic role, the BBC also started being a powerful agent in this supranational field, as I analyse below.

The Global Market

In this global, and often unregulated, field, the BBC has also started struggling, joining other British production companies and reinforcing British television's clear inclination to selling programmes to other countries. British TV is the second largest world-exporter of formats (Steemers 2004) and the BBC “sells programmes to over 100 countries” (Thompson 1990, p.202). This is a really significant difference that starkly contrasts the Italian and British scenarios. In the BBC's case alone, already “in 1984-5 the sale of programmes overseas accounted for 70 per cent of the £35 million revenue of BBC Enterprises, the commercial wing of the BBC” (Thompson 1990, p.202). Italy, instead, does not manage to sell shows abroad. Moreover, the BBC's global TV “reaches about 80 million households in Europe and over 300 million homes worldwide” (Chalaby 2009, p.109).

The increasing success of British producers in exporting formats throughout the world (Freedman 2008) relates to the ideologies of “media imperialism” (Barker 2012, p.338), neocolonialism and cultural imperialism (Freedman 2008). Crusz argues that when television “hardware and software” (1996, p.111) is sold to poorer countries, it undergoes a neocolonialist process. Thus, through this penetration the British state plays a dominant role in relation to the nations that buy or view the BBC's programmes. Imperialism theory classifies the world into core and peripheral nations (Weitz 2012), and the international TV market clearly confirms that Britain belongs to the first category and Italy to the second; this is clearly of fundamental importance for this analysis.

What is more, the capitalist and neocolonialist nature of British TV has found its natural development in satellite channels, and “the UK will be the major player in the European satellite television environment” (Goodfriend 1988, p.174) on both the

hardware and software sides. In fact, *British Aerospace* is the leading European company of satellite makers, while British satellite programming “is strongly influencing the flavour of satellite television” (Goodfriend 1988, p.174). As already seen, the British Government continues to protect the BBC's independence, but at the same time is not trying to regulate this expansion (Goodfriend 1988).

To sum up, British TV in general and specifically the BBC have successfully entered the global TV market, a market ruled by capitalistic and neoliberal principles. However, this is not only a matter of economic capital and money. In fact, through TV, the British state has played a dominant and neocolonialist role in relation to nations buying and watching British programmes. Moreover, Britain has successfully entered the field of satellite television, on both hardware and software levels, and has thus increased its dominant roles in the field of global TV. Even in this aspect, British TV contrasts starkly from Italian TV, which, as seen, has long been isolated for political reasons and is among the dominated countries that buy or watch foreign programmes. As with Italy, the following subsections focus on the relationships between what I have found in the super-field of British TV and the sub-field of British food television.

Food TV in Great Britain

Like Italy, British TV also started broadcasting food shows when a national food culture already existed. British food culture developed during the Industrial Revolution, and is generally considered to have been deeply influenced by technology and modernization (Mason 2004), even thanks to the scientific knowledge and ability of the protestants (Coveney 2006). Moreover, in Britain, professional cooking has always had a higher profile than home cooking (Mason 2004; Blythman, 2006). It has always been up to private companies and schools to focus on culinary practices for commercial reasons and educational aims respectively (Mason 2004). As a result, “elements of food culture that are highly valued in southern Europe, such as regional attachments, have either never existed or almost

vanished under the onslaught of industrialisation” (Mason 2004, p.IX). Finally, since the twentieth century, immigrants from many other countries (e.g. India, Italy, Poland, China and others) have taken their cuisines to Britain, and British people have shown great interest in them (Panayi 2008). The interaction between British and ethnic food brought about the construction of an important form of national culinary capital, the cosmopolitan one, as I explain below.

The First Period: The Dawn of the Celebrity Chefs

British food TV has focused on food and chefs since its birth. As stated by Mason (2006), and as reported in my literature review, the chef Marcel Boulestin appeared on the screens in 1936 on one of the first BBC television programmes. Certainly, until the 1980s, celebrity chefs pursued educational aims without emphasising particular 'artistic' attitudes. However, one of the most famous chefs, Philip Harben, is considered by Mennell (1996) to be the first celebrity chef, for his visual style and for having launched Harbenware, “one of the first ranges of non-stick pans in the UK” (Ashley and al. 2004, p.173). Thus, he combined technical, cultural and commercial interests. Moreover, Harben also taught the audience how to cook exotic dishes (Mason 2004). In doing so, he accumulated and offered his audience a new form of culinary capital, linked to ethnic food. This contrasts with what happened with food TV in Italy, where shows extolled pure, Italian sacred food.



Figure 7: Philip Harben

Since Harben, the field of food TV has become an important part of the super-field of British TV. In the 1960s, food programmes became a main genre of British TV, both public and commercial. During the 1970s and 1980s, each of the four major channels broadcast three hours of food TV a day (Mason 2006). Among the others, Delia Smith provided “precise and fool-proof recipes for those in need of guidance” (Mason 2006, p.115) while Anton Mossiman and Albert and Michel Roux showed off their extraordinary capability as great restaurant chefs. Thus, on the one hand, Smith mirrored the part of the BBC's remit related to informing and educating (Ashley and al. 2004); on the other hand, the other two chefs dedicated their programmes to entertaining.

This differentiation highlights the old gender division of work in the kitchen, with men represented as professional chefs and women as home cooks (Feasey 2008). Even in this stereotyped division, British TV offers its audience a wider scenario of the gendered kitchen. In fact, I have demonstrated that in Italy it was almost exclusively women who cooked on TV until the 2000s, and always as home cooks, while men rarely appeared and only as professional chefs. In Britain, instead, even though stereotyped in their strict gender roles, both men and women suggest forms of culinary capital on equal terms.

However, the point at which the BBC really contrasts with Rai is in the representation of the Other. In this period, in fact, chefs such as Ken Hom and Madhur Jaffrey, who “exploited their ethnic backgrounds, presenting series on Chinese or Indian cookery” (Mason 2006, p.115) became popular for their exotic dishes. They also explained unknown food cultures of remote countries to their middle class audience. Thus, the multicultural approach inaugurated by Harben was continued, and also people coming from other countries were recognised as celebrity chefs. The BBC was aware of the potential of this multiethnic approach, to the extent that it created a dedicated office and “Madhur Jaffrey’s *Flavours of India* [was produced] by the BBC Multicultural Programmes Unit” (Ashley et al. 2004, p.174). In short, ethnic food was represented not as the food of the Other, but as part of British food culture (Mason 2004). This meant that this food also conferred social

distinction. It was the birth of what I call cosmopolitan culinary capital, and it is a relevant issue in my analysis of *Jamie's Great Britain*.

Therefore, even though scholars state that it has only been since the 1990s that chefs “have gained 'celebrity status', featuring in magazines such as *Hello* and *OK*” (Ashley et al. 2004, p.171), this first period of British food TV clarifies that the process of formation of the celebrity chef started much earlier. As reported in my theoretical framework, Fantasia (2010) finds that in the field of French gastronomy, chefs and entrepreneurs struggled against each other for power. Instead, since this first period Anglo-Saxon celebrity chefs have encapsulated both personalities, and in this way they attain great amounts of culinary capital. In referring to Stringfellow et al.'s model (2013), while in France, chefs stand close to the pole of legitimisation and entrepreneurs to that of popularisation, in Britain, celebrity chefs struggle against each other and can shift from one pole to the other when is convenient.

In conclusion, since this first period, British food TV has developed its approach to food, which is gendered, multiethnic and based on the role of the celebrity chef. On gender, British TV stereotypes men as chefs and women as home cooks and, differently from the Italian TV of the first period, gives both the opportunity to create culinary capital. On Otherness, the BBC set up an office dedicated to this matter and represented ethnic cuisine through celebrity chefs that had origins in or came from other countries. Finally, differently from what happened in France, the role of the celebrity chef mediated the chef and the entrepreneur, and paved the way for a consumerist approach to food TV. In fact, the celebrity chef plays a key-role in the neoliberal era.

The Second Period: The Neoliberal Chef

In Britain, as in Italy, the field of food TV found its capitalist “periodic adjustment” (Warde 2004, p.13) around the second half of the 1980s. However, there is a big difference between the modalities of this change in the two countries. In fact, in Italy the shows of the more capitalist period marked a sort of revolution in relation to the

previous period. They shifted from the old, Catholic view to the capitalist money-led way of broadcasting food (while still relying on the same type of sacred food). In Britain, instead, since the second part of the 1980s there has not been a neat break with the past, only an increasing of the characteristics already shown. To sum up, the capitalist trend has become even more capitalist.

What has happened in this second period refers to the second category of culinary capital theorised by Naccarato and LeBesco, the omnivorous one. In Britain in fact, those who search for “the greatest variety of tastes and who are open to the broadest range of experiences emerge as the most culturally capitalized” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.9). The omnivore continually seeks to change and tastes new forms of food and food experience, and the British food TV of the neoliberal period can offer this opportunity. Therefore, the unidirectional educational style used by some chefs in the first period was perceived as somehow redundant, and it is not by chance that in this period Anthony Worrall Thompson defined Delia Smith as the Volvo of cooking, being reliable but dull (Blythman 2006). New chefs, in fact, do not cook, but entertain and perform (Mason 2006; Hansen 2008), linking food to other elements, to satisfy the omnivores. These elements may be social injustice (Oliver), a sexualised body (Lawson and White), technology (Blumenthal), rudeness (Ramsey), and so on. Each of these attitudes provides a different form of culinary capital and a new omnivorous experience.

Importantly for this thesis, which also focuses on the Other, the multiethnic element has been one of the most relevant of these opportunities, and cosmopolitan culinary capital has become relevant on British food TV. Many British celebrity chefs cook ethnic dishes, and it is easy to see in this the same neocolonial attitude of British TV already demonstrated (Heldke 2003; Julier 2013; Buscemi 2014c). Miller points out that “in this sense, television food replicates the structure of dominance that characterizes the global political economy of food” (2002, p.79). Furthermore, the BBC and the other broadcasters have not legitimised all the ethnic cuisines. For example, black African chefs account for very little on Western TV (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012), and also on British TV. This mirrors the already explained strategy

of inclusion/exclusion, and what happens in Britain and in many other countries, not only in the field of TV. In fact, Gilroy argues that “it is worth recording that the only image of a black man to be found in the glossy pages of the famous first New Labour Manifesto was a smiley picture of Nelson Mandela” (2013, p.xxxi). As suggested by Bourdieu (2010), the dominant classes decide the good and the bad taste; in this case it is clear that there are 'good' ethnic cuisines that find room on British TV shows and 'bad' ethnicities that are not allowed to emerge.

In my literature review, I have already found that following the dominance of the multicultural approach, a counter process since the 1990s has led British food culture to discover local British foods (James 1997). I have also reported in my theoretical framework that James (1997) finds four types of food in Britain: the global, the cosmopolitan, the anti-cosmopolitan and the 'creolization' of food. While the global, the cosmopolitan and the creolised refer to multiethnicity, anti-cosmopolitan refers to local food and to the British landscape as providers of raw food and basic nature. This trend has been negotiated on much of food TV, which represents British food and landscape as another opportunity for the omnivorous audience to experience something new. Among the shows that specialise in this kind of food, I can mention Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall's *River Cottage* (2011), but also particular programmes by The Hairy Bikers and Heston Blumenthal's *Heston's Christmas Feast* (Episode 5 of Blumenthal 2009), even though it is not the British landscape but the East European landscape. *Jamie's Great Britain*, the show that I analyse in this study, may be considered as Oliver's attempt also to embark on this sub-genre, as I find in Chapter 7.



Figure 8: Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall

Even this kind of show and the relative culinary capital are interesting for this research because they refer to the nation. In fact, the representation of wild

landscapes has already been linked to national identity. Landscapes are one of the most powerful national symbols, as they “come to stand as symbols of continuity ... etched with the past” (Edensor 2002, p.40). This happens to the extent that Short (1991) has theorised national landscape ideologies and that popular culture has “recirculated” them (Edensor 2002, p.40). Interestingly for this research, Edensor also sees the British landscape as a particularly powerful source of ideological landscape, for its being an island, and therefore protected by external factors, and for its deep roots in an ancestral, balanced and ordered nature (Edensor 2002).

However, television adds something to all of this. In these shows, in fact, the landscape becomes a space for masculine cooking. If the kitchen is the typical female domain, men look for other places, and the outdoors are far enough from the kitchen to avoid any overlap (James Beard cited in Inness 2001, p.27). The nation's landscape on TV is therefore not only an alternative source of food to cosmopolitan cuisine, but also a masculine space where chefs may distance themselves from female home cooking. Not by chance, all of the mentioned shows relating to the landscape are presented by men. Thus, cooking outdoors becomes the perfect activity for the male celebrity chef to underline his masculinity and to accumulate and provide another kind of national culinary capital, less concerned with the state's ideologies and more with the role of celebrity chef. In the previous chapters, I have already seen that the media may sometimes shape forms of national culinary capital that are to varying degrees alternative to those of the state. This 'rough' form of culinary capital, sourced from the national landscape and embodied by a 'media invention', the celebrity chef, may be considered not alternative, but shaped independently from the state. The national ideology of the landscape may therefore be considered as an important part of the field of British food TV, and is fully explained in Chapter 7, as part of the analysis of *Jamie's Great Britain*.

In conclusion, the second period of the field of British food TV has seen a great diversification of the forms of culinary capital offered by the shows. In terms of the thesis questions, I have focused on approaches linked to the nation. On the one hand, I have centred on the approaches relating to the Other, and on the other hand, on the

culinary capital referring to the landscape. I have found that when British food TV relates to the Other, it confirms its neocolonial approach and the exclusion of some forms of Otherness. When instead the field of food TV relates to the British landscape, it constructs shows based on local food and basic nature. Before analysing the two shows, below I sum up the content of the whole chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to help the reader contextualise the two programmes analysed in Chapters 6 and 7. Thus, Chapter 5 has focused on Bourdieu's field analysis and political economy analysis of the fields of TV and food TV in Italy and Britain. The analysis on Italy has underlined the overwhelming influence of politics on public and commercial television and on food TV, exemplifying one of the theorisations of this thesis, the role of meta-tastemaker played by the state. On the level of TV in general, until the early 1980s, this influence reinforced and promoted Catholic ideologies. Instead, since the early 1980s, with the advent of commercial TV, it has resulted in the negotiation between old Catholic values and new, neoliberal instances, under the dominant role of Berlusconi. Over the years, Berlusconi's huge conflict of interests has led to a stagnation of the dynamics within the fields. Only in the last two or three years, with Berlusconi losing power and the advent of new technologies, has Italian TV developed in a more balanced way, also allowing new agents to enter the field. What seems to be an on-going limit however, is the role of Italian TV in the global market, where Italy buys formats from other countries and almost never sells national products abroad, apart from a few exceptions.

On food TV, the dominant Catholic role in the field until the 1980s led to a conception of food as something sacred and untouchable. The advent of commercial TV has substantially drawn on this ideology to construct a more capitalist form of TV that has not challenged the old views until today, apart from emergent agents in the third period. The presence of institutional bodies such as Slow Food, drawing on the Catholic approach too, has reinforced this view and blocked every attempt to

renew this perception. In relation to the past, fear of the Other has not changed and the view of the woman has become, if possible, more discriminating. The role of the woman in the kitchen has shifted from the housewife to the entrepreneur, and this has made it possible to support neoliberal ideologies such as the primacy of money. Thus in Italy food TV has always promoted national ideologies, and here it is clear that the state has perfectly embodied the role of meta-tastemaker, 'above' other tastemakers such as presenters, journalists and so on. All of this has happened while TV has been unable to put forward alternative models. Thus, Couldry's point that the media can provide meta-capital and compete with the nation on equal terms must be relativized when we talk about Italy. Only in the last three or four years have emergent forms of food TV challenged the old ones, still dominant on the major channels. This has mirrored what has been happening in the field of television in general

In respect to Britain, the national public broadcaster, the BBC, despite some issues, shows itself to be more independent of political power than Rai. In the first period, the presence of another agent in the field, ITV, did not change the BBC's role as public broadcaster. Differently from Italy, where the public TV adapted its content in order to look like commercial channels, in Britain, the BBC has insisted on the model of public service, and it has been commercial TV that has moved closer to the public service model. In the second and last period, neoliberal policies have instead allowed the entrance of many other commercial broadcasters, and the BBC has accordingly reshaped its aims. It has mostly saved its role as public TV, but it has adapted to the new economy-led market by becoming one of the main players in the international market, and by selling formats and shows to many countries (Italy included). In doing so, the BBC has followed the mission of many other British TV companies. All of this has linked British TV in general and the BBC specifically to ideologies such as neocolonialism and cultural dominance.

Therefore, in relation to the nation, the BBC shows much more independence than Italian TV also because of its ability to sell formats abroad and to be a global company. The powerful role played by the BBC internationally permits the company to be a competitor of the state in shaping forms of capital, as theorised by Couldry.

Food TV in Britain has been centred on multiethnicity and on the figure of the celebrity chef since its beginning. In the first period, the forms of culinary capital represented on TV were split into two strands, the educational and the performing, with a strong gender division between female home cooking and male professional cooking. The neoliberal age has brought about a change, and many chefs relating to educational aims have been considered redundant. All the new chefs, men and women, have centred on performing, and have represented many differentiated forms of culinary capital, aiming to fulfil the hunger of an omnivorous audience, in search of continuously new experiences.

Among the forms of culinary capital represented, two refer to the nation and are therefore important for this study. The first is a multiethnic or cosmopolitan culinary capital, which links many shows to neocolonialism and cultural dominance, as I have already found in the field of British TV. The second is a local culinary capital, relating to the so-called landscape ideology. Finally, on the economic level, the rise of the celebrity chef has unified the figure of the chef and that of the entrepreneur, who in other countries struggle against each other in the fields related to food. Thus, this figure has resulted in being the capitalist synthesis of these two agents, and has concentrated huge amounts of economic and cultural capital in the same hands; this challenges Bourdieu's assumption of the chiasmic distribution of capital in the fields. In the relationships between the state and the media, this research has found a different role of the media in comparison to Italy. In fact, in shaping the character of the celebrity chef, TV demonstrates a large degree of independence from the state. Once a celebrity chef is created, he/she influences the other fields (books, economy, restaurants, and so on). This is exactly the media meta-capital theorised by Couldry.

Thus, the state certainly plays the role of meta-tastemaker, but the media put forward independent models such as the celebrity chef and independent forms of national culinary capital such as the rough form. These models are not in contrast with national ideologies, but testify to the ability of the media to shape values independently from the centralised power of the state. In short, the state as meta-tastemaker in Britain is less dominant than in Italy, while the British media turn out

to be stronger than the Italian media. The next two chapters analyse the two shows. Chapter 6 focuses on *Ti Ci Porto Io*, and Chapter 7 on *Jamie's Great Britain*. In both cases, I relate the two shows to Bourdieu's theories, other parts of the theoretical framework and elements of the fields that I have found in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

TI CI PORTO IO

Structure of the Chapter

This chapter centres on the representation of national culinary capital on the Italian show *Ti Ci Porto Io* and, similarly, Chapter 7 analyses the British show *Jamie's Great Britain*. These two chapters analyse how the two shows create forms of culinary capital linked to the nation, as discussed in the previous chapter. As written in my theoretical framework, these forms of national culinary capital create social distinction not only on a class-related basis, but also linking to gender and ethnicity. In this chapter, first I analyse the political economy and the position in the field of La7 and Verve Media Company, the broadcaster and the production company of *Ti Ci Porto Io*. Second, I provide an overview of the programme and its presenters, to let the reader enter into the whole atmosphere of the show. Third, I centre on forms of culinary capital linked to class, gender and ethnic issues. Finally, I draw together the main points in order to support further theorisation and concluding outcomes in the last chapter.

La7 and Verve Media Company: Political Economy Analysis and Field Positioning

La7 and the Political Seesaw

Before the advent of DTT, only seven channels in Italy were *in chiaro* (terrestrial and free), that is, visible without any fee or satellite dish, and therefore received higher ratings. Together they formed the so-called *televisione generalista* (mainstream TV). Besides the three Rai and three Mediaset channels, La7 was the seventh Italian channel; importantly the only one among the seven not controlled by Berlusconi during his Governments. Specifically for this reason, La7 has always drawn attention from political parties of both wings, often changing its owners and identity. As I

demonstrate in this section, many agents have struggled in the field of Italian TV to control this channel and to impose specific ideologies.

If Serafini (2013) writes that La7's history is a political history, I argue that it is a political economy history. For this reason, analysing it through Bourdieu's field analysis and political economy analysis allows me to really understand its political aims and its position in the field in relation to the other agents. La7's frequent ownership changes make this case particularly interesting and confirm that Bourdieu's idea of field of cultural production is key to analysing today's TV. In addition, La7's frequent changes, not only of its owners, but also of its editorial line, perfectly fit in with the model theorised by Stringfellow et al. (2013). This model analyses tastemakers behaviour, and in applying it to La7 I consider the broadcaster as a tastemaker, in that it puts forward forms of legitimate taste with its shows. However, my analysis also adds an interesting element to this theory. If for Stringfellow et al. (2013), tastemakers shift from one pole to another to best struggle in the field, La7 makes the same movements for exclusively political reasons, as I demonstrate below.

La7 was founded in September 2001 as an alternative channel to the duopoly Rai-Mediaset, which was for years, as seen above, actually a hidden monopoly (Hibberd 2008). The channel was entirely owned by Telecom Italia, the biggest Italian phone company. In those times, Telecom Italia was owned by an entrepreneur close to the main left-wing party, Roberto Colaninno (Dimitri 2013), and this made clear that La7 was set up as an anti-Berlusconian agent. Colaninno bought the old channel *Tele Montecarlo* (the TV of the Principality of Monaco broadcast in Italy in the Italian language) and worked on a set of aggressive programmes and celebrities opposed to Berlusconi. Their aims were to challenge Mediaset and to achieve 5 per cent of the ratings.

The channel was launched with a live show presented by Fabio Fazio and Gad Lerner, two icons of the Italian left wing, and received 13.7 per cent ratings; this testified to the audience's willingness for a different form of TV. While all the opinion leaders were heralding the end of the duopoly, just three days before the

airing of Fabio Fazio's talk show, which would have constituted an attack on Berlusconi's politics, *Telecom Italia*, La7's owner, was bought by another entrepreneur, Marco Tronchetti Provera, who was closer to Berlusconi (Dimitri 2013). Tronchetti Provera fired Fazio (whose show was never aired) and other presenters and managers, paying out about 50 billion lire in total, 20 of which went to Fazio alone. Moreover, the series *Queer as Folk*, about gay culture, was suppressed, as with every element that would have challenged the dominant cultural scenario (Dipollina 2001).

In a few months, the new management transformed La7 into a cultural and news channel aiming for a 2 per cent share. The average ratings were 1.9 per cent in 2002, 2.2 per cent in 2003, and 2.4 per cent in 2004 (Sottoriva 2012). Even though La7 was sometimes critical of Berlusconi, it was not an economic threat to Mediaset anymore, and Mediaset channels continued to get high ratings. In Bourdieu's terms, the new ownership lowered its own expectations of accumulating economic capital, in order not to disturb another agent in the field. In short, the agent La7 refused to participate in the power struggle. Only in 2006 did La7 reach 3.0 per cent of average ratings and not until 2010, did it surpass 3.1 per cent (Sottoriva 2012). Among the many presenters, many La7 shows were hosted by Giuliano Ferrara, an ex-minister of Berlusconi's Government. Serafini (2013) points out that the channel was actually kept under Ferrara's control.

In 2007, Telecom Italia was bought by an alliance formed by Italian entrepreneurs and the Spanish company Telefonica (Pons 2013), which every year acquired more importance in the network. During this period, La7 started being less concerned with political equilibrium and more with ratings. This is the ownership under which *Ti Ci Porto Io* was broadcast, and the producer of the programme, in his interview, recalls that Telecom continually pushed for higher ratings (see Appendix 2), to acquire, in Bourdieu's sense, more economic capital. Since then, La7 has tried to widen its audience, and has started broadcasting more popular programmes, even achieving a 10 or 12 per cent share. The arrival, in 2010, of the journalist Enrico Mentana as the director of La7 news, further popularised the channel and increased its ratings

(Franco 2012). In doing so, the channel has been mediating between its alternative identity and more traditional forms of TV.

Meanwhile, Berlusconi's power and his multifaceted forms of capital have slowly decreased, and in 2011 Mario Monti's Government took over from Berlusconi's. As previously stated, Berlusconi's replacement was not brought about by elections, but decided by the Italian President of the Republic and some international leaders. La7's average share was 3.9 in 2011 and 3.6 in 2012 (Sottoriva 2012). In 2013, the channel was bought by a conservative entrepreneur, Urbano Cairo, who in the past was Berlusconi's personal assistant (Serafini 2013). The recent decision to broadcast *Miss Italia*, as said above rejected by Rai (Davies 2013), seems like a further shift towards a more commercial and conservative form of TV, as said by the producer in his interview (see Appendix 2), and a strategy to take advantage of Mediaset's weakness. Certainly Cairo's La7 is a big commercial success, and has increased both advertising incomes (Affari Italiani 2013) and ratings, which in the first five months of 2013 stood at 4.34 per cent (Scarpellini 2013).

When applying Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) model to La7, it is clear that at the beginning of its history, by hiring popular left-wing presenters, the channel wanted to popularise its fight against Berlusconi. Tronchetti Provera's ownership of Telecom Italia, instead, moved the company towards legitimization. In short, the channel acquired cultural capital but lost economic capital, confirming Bourdieu's theory of the chiasmic distribution of these two kinds of capital. Finally, when Berlusconi's power decreased, the channel again moved towards popularization, also thanks to *Ti Ci Porto Io*. Interestingly, the chef Vissani perfectly mirrors this phase of the channel, because, as I write in the next chapter, he was making the same shift: in fact, as a chef, after a period of legitimization, he was moving towards popularization.

La7 applies to Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) model in an interesting way. In this theorisation, tastemakers shift from one pole to the other by necessity, in order to survive in the market and acquire new forms of capital. In the case of La7 under Tronchetti Provera's ownership, the reason for shifting from popularisation (a successful TV channel) to legitimisation (a news channel aimed at 2 per cent ratings)

was instead for political convenience (i.e. not disturbing Berlusconi's business). Again, politics demonstrates that it is the decisive agent in the field of Italian TV.

Moreover, it is interesting that La7, in order to struggle in the field and acquire capital, broadcast many shows promoting taste and ideologies similar to Berlusconi's, even when it was owned by non-Berlusconian entrepreneurs, and even when Berlusconi was not Prime Minister anymore. I argue that, in doing so, La7 shifted toward popularisation. As said, Berlusconi was excluded from political power not by elections, but by the decision of other politicians. This means that, even though he was no longer dominant in the political scenario, on a cultural level his ideology still represented the dominant view of Italians. Thus to acquire capital, La7 has ended up following dominant, Berlusconi-led perspectives. As I demonstrate below, even *Ti Ci Porto Io* is part of this strategy. Apart from this, even the political economy and the field positioning of the production company add important elements to better understand the forms of national culinary capital represented in the show, and this is the focus of the next subsection.

Verve Media Company and Its Dual Personality

In one of his last works, Bourdieu (2003) warns that the real danger of neoliberalism is the huge concentration of capital that threatens independence and autonomy. In his view, the state orchestrates these concentrations, and television executives are among the most responsible allies of the dominant agents. The Italian market of TV production is the perfect exemplification of Bourdieu's point, because it involves all the agents mentioned by the French sociologist. The TV market is in fact overwhelmingly dominated by just a few companies and totally dependent on the political parties. Until the 1990s, Rai and Mediaset used to produce their own shows, and the market did not need independent producers. When, in the late 1990s, broadcasters started buying shows from external producers, the first companies emerged, in a politically-led scenario. In 2006, three companies controlled more than 80 per cent of what was produced in terms of entertainment formats (Sideri 2007)

and were closely linked to the field of the state. The three companies were *Endemol*, *Magnolia* and *Fascino*.

Endemol is a multinational company whose Italian branch was founded and owned until 1990 by Marco Bassetti, the son-in-law of Bettino Craxi, the ex-prime minister that, as mentioned above, supported Berlusconi's rise. From 2007 to 2012, *Endemol* was owned by Mediaset, Berlusconi's company, and sold shows to both public and commercial television, creating a further conflict of interests (Sacchi 2008). When Berlusconi's political trajectory plunged, Mediaset sold the company to a group of banks (Gemelli 2012). *Magnolia* was instead founded in 2001 by Giorgio Gori (Sacchi 2008), a Mediaset executive that left Berlusconi's company to create an alternative to *Endemol*. Gori was also a candidate of the Partito Democratico, the left-wing party, in 2011 and 2014. *Fascino*, finally, was created by Maurizio Costanzo, a presenter and journalist that worked at Mediaset from 1990 to 2011. A friend of Berlusconi, involved along with him in the scandal of the masonic lodge P2, Costanzo has always declared his left-wing leaning.

In a market that is concentrated to this extent, independent producers struggle to survive, mostly by producing programmes for satellite channels and La7, the less remunerative broadcasters. Verve Media Company, which produced *Ti Ci Porto Io*, is one of these independent organizations. It is a small company with only 10 employees (Infojobs 2013) whose CEO and sole owner is Lorenzo Torracca, a TV and film producer. Verve Media Company focuses on two different strands of production. On the one hand, it produces documentaries on social and political issues, such as *A Slum Symphony* (on the National Children and Youth Orchestra System of Venezuela), or *La Forza del Vento* (The strength of the wind), in which eight Down's Syndrome boys sail a ship in order to compete in a race. They are all non-profit projects, ideas that Torracca wants to realise solely for his individual beliefs (Petitti 2011). On the other hand, Verve Media Company produces entertaining shows, above all on food and sex. *Ti Ci Porto Io* was created because in another of Verve's cooking shows, *Storie di Grandi Chef* (History of Great Chefs), Rocco and Vissani met each other and hit it off, as said by the producer in his interview (see Appendix

2). Instead, the most popular show of the sexual strand is certainly *Ci Pensa Rocco* (Rocco Will Solve It) in which the porn actor Rocco Siffredi goes into troubled Italian couples' houses and gives them advice on how to solve their problems.

In splitting its productions like this, Verve Media Company seems to agree with Bourdieu that television is almost always a matter of money (Bourdieu 1998a), but that something has to be done to help in “stopping this infernal machine” (Bourdieu 2003, p.65). With the food and sex strand, the firm obeys the dominant, economic rule mentioned by Bourdieu. Certainly, food and sex relate to pleasure (Retzinger 2008), and are clearly two of the fastest strategies to gaining audience ratings and surviving in the market. However, once this bitter reality is accepted, with the second strand the company tries to stop the “infernal machine” (Bourdieu 2003, p.65) by promoting values such as solidarity, equality and social justice.

Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) model applies to this company in a really interesting way. Instead of shifting between the two opposite poles of legitimization and popularization, Verve Media Company occupies two different positions at the same time. The first strand of social shows, in fact, is close to the pole of legitimisation, with an ideal of TV that is close to the public service; the second strand, on food and sex, positions the company close to the pole of popularization, with the evident aim of gaining ratings. If the aim continues to be surviving in the market, Verve Media Company's strategy duplicates its identity and positions itself in two, different places at the same time; one securing legitimization, the other guaranteeing popularisation. The analysis of the show and the final outcome also take this approach into account.

In conclusion, the analysis of La7 and Verve Media Company has demonstrated the strong influence of the political parties on Italian TV. La7 originated to contrast the duopoly Rai-Mediaset during Berlusconi's Governments, and have later become an instrument for protecting Berlusconi's power. When *Ti Ci Porto Io* was produced and shot, La7 was controlled by entrepreneurs more concerned with ratings than with political interests. While Berlusconi was excluded from the political field, La7 however supported Berlusconi's ideologies such as nationalism, a neoliberal view of the entrepreneur and a subjugated position of the woman because they were still

dominant in Italy, as confirmed by the interview with the producer (see Appendix 2). This was accepted by Verve Media Company because food shows are part of the strand of production aimed at pursuing high rates, and at financing the less remunerative projects of the other strand. Therefore, the two companies agreed on positioning themselves close to the pole of popularisation in Stringfellow's et al. (2013) scheme for different reasons, but both with consistent benefits. After analysing the broadcaster and the production company of *Ti Ci Porto Io*, in the next sections, I analyse the show in detail.

Overview of the Whole Series

The programme is a travelling show broadcast weekly. The first series consists of 20 episodes, broadcast from January 22nd to June 24th 2012. However, episode 19, set in Lombardy, and episode 20, filmed in Sicily, are actually the same as episodes 10 and 14. This means that there are only actually 18 episodes. As already said, I analyse episodes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16 and 18. A second series of the show was broadcast from October to December 2012. This work, however, focuses on just the first series, because this is a comparison between two series, being a series “the formal equivalent to industrialised production: it represents the repetition of tasks at the level of programme format, narrative problematic, character and location” (Ellis 1992, p.222). What is more, the British programme does not have a second series, and comparing two series to just one would have unbalanced this study.

Ti Ci Porto Io is shot entirely outdoors. In each episode, the two presenters go around in their car, a yellow Fiat 500, visiting one specific Italian region and discovering its food and places. The two hosts are the chef Gianfranco Vissani and the presenter Michela Rocco. As “characters on television are not just representations of individual people but are encodings of ideology” (Fiske 1987, p.9), it is worth analysing them. For many years Gianfranco Vissani was the favourite chef of the Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema, and cooked for many public events, which the Clintons, the Blairs and other international political leaders attended (Menichini 1999). He also cooked for D'Alema's opponents, right-wing politicians such as Gianfranco Fini

(Affari Italiani 2011). In 2014, he was awarded a degree *honoris causa* at the University of Camerino (Curcio 2014). This brief introduction may explain the powerful people he has worked for and the role of tastemaker that he has gained in Italy, to the point that he is called “il cuoco del potere” (the chef of the power) (Il Tempo 2004; Della Pasqua 2005) and the ambassador of Italian cuisine around the world (Curcio 2014). Michela Rocco di Torrepadula is Prince Giulio Rocco di Torrepadula’s daughter, ex-fiancé of the politician Chicco Testa and, at the time of the programme, the wife of Enrico Mentana, the journalist already mentioned as the director of the news on La7. Mentana and Rocco split up about six months after the end of the show. In the end, Vissani and Rocco profoundly relate to Italian politics and power.

In each episode, there are two different components that intertwine: places and food. Generally, when the presenters arrive in a village, town or city, first they meet a celebrity (actor, journalist, writer, sportsperson, and so on) that shows them the most interesting sights, buildings, streets, squares and shops. In this part of the programme, Rocco generally plays a more relevant role. After that, the presenters and the celebrity arrive at a place linked to food (a house, restaurant, bed & breakfast, kitchen school, etc.), and someone cooks traditional dishes from the local cuisine. Here, Vissani takes on the main role, while Rocco usually goes around the town along with the celebrity to discover other places.

Vissani comments upon what the cook has prepared, and after this, sometimes prepares a dish by using some ingredients of the local dish previously prepared, while reworking it. During each preparation, suggestions and techniques are written on the screen in yellow boxes that resemble post-its, and are read out by Rocco. Vissani's re-elaboration is the final part of each stage of the programme. After this, the presenters get into the Fiat 500 again and go to another place, close to the previous one and in the same region.

In the next section, I start the analysis of the two shows. To help identify each exact scene that I describe, I have referenced it with the specific episode and the exact time when it occurs. As when referencing a book with the precise page of the quotation, I

have therefore referenced each analysed scene of both shows with the precise time in which this happens.

***Ti Ci Porto Io*, History of Italian Food Culture and Sacred Food**

Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) argue that culinary capital is formed by prevailing ideologies and beliefs and that it creates distinction through food. Starting from this, I am searching for 'national' culinary capital within *Ti Ci Porto Io*. Thus, this part of my thesis aims to find out whether or not and how the meta-field of the nation affects *Ti Ci Porto Io* and the creation of national culinary capital. In my theoretical framework, I have underlined that this often occurs through national food culture, and in Chapter 5, I have found that Italian food culture is mostly based on what I have called sacred food. In this section, I briefly analyse the relationships between the show and Italian food culture and sacred food in particular, while in the following sections, I investigate how the programme creates national culinary capital in relation to class, gender and ethnicity.

In the literature review, I have underlined that Italian food culture originated on a regional basis from Artusi's book. The first edition of Artusi's book was self-funded and ignored by readers. The second edition, organised by politicians, was successful and included two letters by the poet Olindo Guerrini, and Senator Paolo Mantegazza's wife (Capatti and Montanari 2003). From that moment on, the book was decisive in considering what Italian food is and what it is not. When talking about food, Italian people started asking more and more: What does Artusi's book say? Look up Artusi (Prezzolini 1958 cited in Comune di Forlimpopoli, no date). The book was also considered as a stimulus to patriotism against the French dominance (Capatti 2010, cited in Comune di Forlimpopoli, no date). It may appear strange that a single cookbook could become so important in the definition of a national food culture, but this actually happened. However, in the first editions published until the author's death, the book only focuses on some Italian regions, while:

... there is no mention of the Marches, Abruzzo, Apulia, Basilicata, or Calabria in any of the recipes ... this is the country that Artusi knew and presented to his readers. His Italy is incomplete ... How did it happen that this interregional recipe collection, with its gaps and lack of balance, became the symbol of Italian cuisine? (Capatti and Montanari 2003, p.27)

To sum up, Italy was united, Italians were not, and a cookbook could help construct a national food culture. As in every process of inclusion/exclusion, some regions found room in Artusi's book and then became part of Italian food culture, while others remained excluded (Capatti and Montanari 2003). Certainly, these excluded regions over the years have tried to enter the field, but what is striking when analysing *Ti Ci Porto Io* is that Vissani and Rocco visit almost the same regions visited by Artusi and present in his book. In fact, the show neglects eight regions, and six of them (Valle D'Aosta, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Abruzzo, Molise, Basilicata and Calabria) were also neglected by Artusi in the editions of his book until his death (Artusi 1895). Certainly, the first two regions were excluded from Artusi's cookbook because they were still not part of Italy, but the fact that the show does not take them into account demonstrates that they have had some trouble in entering the field in the intervening years. Probably they are present in other 'versions' of Italian food culture however, they are excluded from *Ti Ci Porto Io*. The producer of the show points out that at the beginning of the production process, the show aimed to visit all the 20 Italian regions, but that during the shooting, budget problems persuaded him to cut out some regions, preferring those more representative such as Sicily, Lombardy and others (see Appendix 2). Even though this was caused by budget issues, I find this an inclusion/exclusion process that links to the construction of Italian food culture.

Apart from this, the show frequently suggests sacred food as a positive model. I will better analyse this in the next sections by mentioning specific cases in which sacred food is represented as a form of culinary capital in relation to class, gender and ethnicity. However, just to underline this link to sacred food, here I recall: the representation of olive as a simple, untouched food growing in Italy since 5000 B.C. and of its tree as a religious symbol of peace (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3,

00.04.50); the extolling representation of the *focacceria* open next to a fast food restaurant which symbolises the revenge of traditional, simple Italian food against modernity (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3, 00.26.33); the Slow Food presidium as a positive model of food production (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 5, 01.21.40); the sociologist De Masi saying that modernity has destroyed good human relationships, and that only in small villages it is possible to find them today (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 5, 00.10.53); and the extolling words of the chef Oldani for the local, Italian simple foods and their relative names as opposing the complex food of 'cuisine' with trendy names (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 16, 00.58.32). Finally, the religious origins of this kind of food is also underlined by Rocco visiting a monastery to have their foods (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 5, 00.07.03; episode 14, 00.07.08); by the nuns making sweet couscous in the monastery as it has been made for centuries (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.07.08); by the story of Maria Gramatico (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 01.06.17), who 'stole' nun's recipes of biscuits and built on it its business; and finally by the language, when Vissani sees a chef doing something that he considers as a mistake, and terms it as “*una bestemmia*” (a blasphemy, Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3, 00.18.14).

By looking at these elements, the show seems to represent the sacred food of the first period of Italian food TV. However, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 5 and in Buscemi (2014b), Italian food television in its second period combines the 'old' sacred food and new, neoliberal instances such as primacy of money and male dominance over women. It is in this line that other scenes must be considered. Among the many: the several entrepreneurs depicted as 'moral' when they sell sacred food and immoral, when they betray its rules (see subsection below); Vissani reprimanding female chefs as a professor (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 01.03.16; episode 5, 00.42.49, both scenes are analysed below); the exclusive representation of the owner of the castle of Greve in Chianti, depicted as a custodian of Italian traditions (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 7, 00.15.04); the extolling portrait of the Florio family, one of the most important capitalistic families in Italian history (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.32.29); and finally, the similar extolling portrait of the most important capitalistic families of Milan by the journalist

Gad Lerner (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 16, 00.16.20). Thus, as in other shows of the second age, *Ti Ci Porto Io* creates national culinary capital by combining sacred food with neoliberal principles. This occurs even more when food is related to class, gender and ethnicity. The next section focuses on the role of the entrepreneur as involved in national culinary capital.

Class Distinction: The Sacred Food of the Idealised, Neoliberal Entrepreneur

In this section, I analyse an element of the series that creates a classed form of culinary capital by relating to sacred food, the Italian food producer. In the show, Italian food producers promote sacred food, the food that is the result, as seen above, of the strong Catholic hegemony over the nation. The creation of sacred culinary capital through the Italian food producer frequently happens in the show, and is almost always combined with a mythical representation of landscape, people and work.

Bourdieu (2010) writes that the detachment from the actual world creates capital and social distinction. In short, if anyone does not need to cope with everyday life, it means that s/he can afford it. Moreover, in Chapter 5, I have already demonstrated that one of the aims of Berlusconi's TV was to represent Italy through the idealisation of the past and the dreams of the Italian people. The philosopher Carlo Chiurco, in his book on Berlusconi's power, argues that the idealisation of reality helps to make contradictions and horrors into something bearable, without facing the real entity. Because of this, we may bear the unbearable (Chiurco 2011). Finally, if the mythical representation regards the field of food production, I argue that this links to the Marxist division of the production from consumption as a basic strategy of capitalist society. This often happens in the show, and here I analyse two particularly clear scenes in this sense.

The first scene is in episode 1 and refers to the food producer Nello (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.28.13). The presenters meet him in a narrow lane in the countryside. They are in their trendy Fiat 500, and Nello is riding in a horse and cart. Nello is wearing very clean jeans and a sweater. In his hands and on his cart, there

are no agricultural tools, and we do not see any detail of the hard work in the countryside. Around him, the fields are clean, the cows are grazing silently, and he is riding in a horse and cart, not so usual today in the Italian countryside. Additionally, Nello and the presenters do not hint at agricultural hard work in their dialogues. Nello cultivates hazelnuts and makes *Nellina*, a hazelnut cream. *Nellina* is not only good to eat, Nello says. At the end of the talk, in fact, Rocco goes to a local spa (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.34.10) that provides treatments with hazelnut cream for the skin. A beauty specialist spreads the hazelnut cream on Rocco's feet, while romantic music helps her relax. The two women discuss the health benefits of hazelnuts, Vitamin E, and antioxidants, good for both skin and to eat. Meanwhile, Vissani, Nello and Nello's aunt Maria prepare a hazelnut and pear cake, and Vissani tells Nello off because he uses powdered milk to prepare the cream (00.33.24).

The second scene is in episode 18, and regards Ferron (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 18, 00.08.22), the producer of the type of rice called *Vialone Nano*. With his big hat, braces, and a colourful shirt, Ferron shows Vissani the entire process of production of the rice in an old building, called *Pila*, where Ferron's family has worked the rice since 1650. Here a really simple machinery coming from the 1600s removes the external skin of the rice, and Ferron underlines that the method has remained the same since 1650. Along with his son and nephew (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 18, 00.12.05) Ferron demonstrates the entire production process. Finally, in the *Pila's* kitchen, Ferron prepares the rice (00.15.17) and explains the exact technique for making it, by softly stirring the rice, in order not to lose the starch, the same way in which “our grandmothers did”, he concludes.



Figures 9 and 10: The presenters and Nello, and Vissani and Ferron

I argue that these scenes recall the culinary capital of sacred food which I have found in the Italian food shows of the 1950s and 1960s. Nellina and Vialone Nano are clearly sacred foods because they are local, simple and untouched. More specifically, Nellina cannot be prepared with powdered milk and is even a miraculous medicine for the skin; Vialone Nano must be caressed as “our grandmothers did”, and must be produced with the same machinery that ancestors have used since 1650.

In addition, the two foods are profoundly Italian, another characteristic of sacred food. On the one hand, in fact, Nello's hazelnut cream, called Nellina after Nello, is the 'local' version of *Nutella*, one of the most famous Italian brands around the world since 1964. Nutella is also a result of Italian capitalism. In 2012, *Nutella* increased its performance in Italy, but also in Poland, Russia, Germany and Canada, and the company will soon open new factories in Turkey and Mexico (La Repubblica 2013). All of this demonstrates that Nutella is an Italian symbol, and Nello, importantly, prepares the 'sacred' home version of this brand. Similarly, rice is an important part of Italian national identity. First of all, Italy is the biggest producer of rice in Europe (FAO 2005), by “producing 59% of the European Union's (EU) rice production” (Halwart and Gupta 2004, pp.61-2).

Moreover, the environment in which these sacred foods are produced adds interesting details to my analysis. In fact, the two entrepreneurs, hidden under the mask of farmer, live in an idealised world reminiscent of the past. In watching the show, it seems that the settings and many people are similar to those of the shows of the 1950s and 1960s. But if in the old shows they could have been credible, today they are totally out of context. One drives a horse and cart, the other, Ferron, stomps alone in the water, dressed as an idealised peasant. They never touch an agricultural tool or show tiredness. In addition, Nello is only one of the many examples of people riding horses and horse and carts in the series. Vissani and Rocco also meet a painter riding a horse (episode 7, 00.55.15); the elegant owner of a bar driving a horse and cart (episode 12, 00.05.13); and a couple celebrating their wedding on a horse and cart (episode 14, 00.01.30).

In reassuring the audience that nothing has changed and that the present is like the past, the show sometimes exaggerates (in fact the horse and cart and the horse are not widespread means of transport in Italy). Similarly, the show exaggerates when showing Ferron breeding carp in the same water of the rice fields. Actually, it was a long Italian tradition starting in the mid-1800s, but this “practice gradually declined and by 1967 it was no longer considered an important activity” (Halvart and Gupta 2004, p.62). This confirms that the show represents an idealised and archaic version of producing Nutella and growing rice. Finally, by showing the youngsters of the Ferron family, the programme underlines that all the things that Ferron has said and done during the show will go on, thanks to the two young men. In the continuous existence of the Ferrons, the show constructs the continuous existence of the nation and of sacred national culinary capital, which produces class distinction between those who deal with sacred food and those who do not.

However, this idealisation hides something else. Simply by checking the Internet, one may realise that Nello and Ferron are two affluent entrepreneurs producing the same foods represented on the show. The horse and cart is the logo of Nello's company, a firm that produces *nellina*, cakes and other delicacies, owns a restaurant and organises horse tours around the countryside and boat tours on the nearby lake (Agriturismo La Gentile, no date). Similarly, the website of Ferron's rice claims that the company was founded in the 1600s and that its *vialone nano* is sold to high-class restaurants. The Ferrons also own two restaurants (one is called *pila*), a cooking school and a conference centre (Riso Ferron, no date). What is more, neither of the two websites mentions the price of the foods they sell, and I argue that this is another link to the detachment from reality that is, for Bourdieu, a recurrent signal of the dominant classes' exclusivity. In conclusion, it is clear that the show advertises the businesses of the two entrepreneurs, and that this idealisation is a strategy through which the show can hegemonically represent neoliberal instances.

Therefore, Nello and Ferron are presented by the show as food producers and entrepreneurs, but the viewer never sees employees, offices, shops or commercial elements of their businesses. They are privileged people that do not need to live in

the real world, and the 'fastidious' world linked to work has been cancelled from the picture. In *Ti Ci Porto Io*, the idealised version of Italy is the strategy through which the show puts forward the class difference between the food producers and the rest of society. In a constructed past composed of horse and cart, sacred food and entrepreneurs without workers, culinary capital and distinction may be accumulated more than in a more realistic version of the nation, where 'fastidious elements' may taint them.

Instead, the two entrepreneurs only show the viewer their skills. The cooking of *riso alla pilota*, for example, seems like a ritual, rather than simple food preparation. There are precise instructions arriving from 'our grandmothers' and the cook must respect them. Skills have to do with another of Bourdieu's categories, the *habitus*, that I have treated in my theoretical framework. In fact, "the habitus itself ... is made up of cultural capital or, in the very widest sense of the word, knowledge (including skills)" (Lash 1993, p.197). Therefore, it is the *habitus* of the two entrepreneurs that contributes to creating culinary capital in these scenes. Their way of producing, treating and preparing sacred food is the source of their power and what marks the difference between them and those who do not deal with sacred food.

However, as said above, there is an important difference between Nello and Ferron. In fact one of the two, Nello, betrays the sacred food by adding powdered milk to the cream. When Vissani tells him off, he is perfectly playing the role of the tastemaker that sometimes becomes a sort of gatekeeper. In short, it is the tastemaker that decides legitimate and illegitimate taste in the field. In this way, Vissani reaffirms his dominant power of ultimate tastemaker over the two chefs. His power allows him to decree that powdered milk does not belong to the legitimate taste of sacred food. Thus, in this case, the representation of a negative example, Nello's choice to add powdered milk, serves the purpose of clarifying and reinforcing both, the boundaries of the legitimate taste and the most powerful possessor of sacred culinary capital.

I have analysed these two scenes in depth because I find them explicative of this approach; however the show similarly represents other food entrepreneurs and exclusive businessmen, such as the mozzarella producer (Rocco and Vissani 2012,

episode 5, 00.35.34), the owner of Verrazzano castle (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 7, 00.15.04), the saline owner (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.45.42), and the saffron producer (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 16, 01.01.05). All of them negotiate the Catholic and left-wing sacred national culinary capital with neoliberal instances. For example, even the website of Odescalchi castle uncovers a series of entrepreneurial activities targeted towards affluent people, such as ceremonies with horse and carts, limousines, fireworks and flag-bearers (Odescalchi, no date). As developed in my theoretical framework, Bourdieu argues that the dominant classes confirm their power by representing themselves as workers “without having the habitus of a worker” (2010, p.373); this is the strategy advanced by the show when representing food entrepreneurs. In fact, none of them are depicted while dealing with employees and other 'fastidious' components of their jobs. Finally, if sacred food allows these entrepreneurs to earn national culinary capital, Vissani is represented as the most powerful tastemaker who accumulates the greater quantity of this form of capital. In fact, it is the chef-presenter that judges the food prepared by the chefs and legitimises or not the food produced by the entrepreneurs.

However, as said in many parts of this thesis, there is a meta-tastemaker above Vissani, Ferron and the others. It is the state, which promotes its ideologies through Ferron's rice, Nello's hazelnut cream and Vissani's judgements. The idealisation of Italy and the sacred nature of its food are the ultimate products advertised on the show, and I have already demonstrated how they support Italian political, religious and economic foundations. As with class, in the show, gender also links to national culinary capital, and this is the topic of the next section.

Sacred Culinary Capital and Gender

Vissani and Women

In Chapter 5, I have found that on Italian food TV, the first shows depicted the woman as an archaic housewife cooking sacred food, while in the second period the woman became a sexualised entrepreneur still attached to sacred food, but with the neoliberal attitude of making money. Only in the last few years, in the third period

and mostly on satellite channels, the woman has also been represented as a professional chef. What is relevant in *Ti Ci Porto Io* is that here the presenter linked to food is a man, and that he is also a professional chef, a category which in Italy is not always well-considered (Parasecoli 2004). Thus, it is interesting to analyse how the show solves the gendered contradiction of considering the most powerful holder of culinary capital as a man, relying on a national food culture that sees the woman instead as the most trustworthy cook.

Bourdieu argues that “as is seen in the difference between the chef and the cook ... a reputedly female task only has to be taken over by a man and performed outside the private sphere in order for it to be thereby ennobled and transfigured” (2001, p.60). This is exactly the strategy of the programme: it splits the practice of cooking into two parts, home and professional cooking. The show even underlines that the two areas are different with the music, that in the scenes of professional cooking helps construct an 'artistic' atmosphere (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3, 00.20.08; episode 14, 00.35.48; episode 16, 00.40.07), while in the scenes of home cooking it just fills silent moments. This is clear in episode 1, where Franca prepares beans (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.20.38), and music only fills the voids. As Vissani says that Franca's beans seem food for cows and starts cooking, the music becomes a technical strategy to underline Vissani's 'art' (however see the next subsection for an analysis of this strategy).

In the area of home cooking, the woman rules undisturbed, while in professional cooking the man is undoubtedly in charge. When Vissani tries to 'invade' the female field, he is defeated. In episode 1, at the market among many housewives, Vissani has an argument with a lady on how to clean artichokes (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.42.26) and tries to impose his point of view on the matter. The woman says that Vissani is not an expert, ironically adding “what a chef...”. Thus, the woman calls into question not only Vissani, but the entire category of (male) chefs, underlining the superiority of old, housewife's wisdom over professional techniques.

In two other cases, it is the woman that tries to 'invade' the male field when Vissani meets Laura and Rosanna, two women who are also professional chefs, as also

underlined by the chefs' uniforms that they wear. The show represents them as corruptors of sacred food. Rosanna (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 5, 00.42.49) even corrupts mozzarella, one of the simplest and 'most Italian' foods of all. She fries mozzarella to prepare, even worse, *Tonkatsu*, a Japanese dish. Vissani berates her, jokes about the word *Tonkatsu* because of its assonance with an Italian swearword meaning penis, and preaches that mozzarella is good in its 'sacred' and simplest version, raw. In fact, he prepares it raw in the next dish. Laura is represented as even worse. While she is teaching a cooking class, Vissani cuts in (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 01.03.16) and advises her on how to cook an entrecôte, and arrogantly asks her: "Are you able to do it?" Laura tries, but Vissani continually makes suggestions and comments on the 'sacred' technique of cooking an entrecôte, which resembles the precise technique of cooking the *riso alla pilota* by Ferron. In the end, he asks Laura to give him her hand, and slaps it as a form of punishment for her 'mistake'.

Moreover, at the end of his preparation, Vissani sensuously smells the meat he has cooked and says that cuisine is like a beautiful woman, who draws you near, carries you away, and that cuisine is also like a woman because you must wait for it/her. It is very interesting that Vissani displays his sexism on cuisine just in front of Laura, a female chef. By doing this, Vissani is actually marking his territory and underlining that being a chef is a male job. Here, corruption of sacred food may arrive from being cooked à la Japanese, and, even worse, by a female chef who is not involved in this form of national culinary capital. To sum up, it is as if Vissani said: you female chefs will never grasp 'sacred' culinary meanings that we male chefs alone can understand. It would not make sense to say the same thing in front of a male chef, because he could agree and participate in the fact that cuisine is like a beautiful woman that men enjoy. Instead, said in front of a woman, those words highlight a distance between being male and female, putting the man in a privileged condition. I believe that this means that only male chefs may create sacred culinary capital professionally, and this links to what I have found in Chapter 5; that is, the secondary role of the woman originating in the Catholic hegemony and extending to Berlusconi's era.

In the two scenes, in fact, Vissani accumulates culinary capital simply because he is a man. We do not know what technique is better to prepare the entrecôte or mozzarella, but the show gives Vissani the authority to be considered the real chef, men being the only people that can fully understand what cooking professionally means. Importantly, in the second scene, all of this happens in front of many students. Tomorrow's chefs are therefore informed, now they know the gendered dominance within the restaurant's kitchen.

However, when the restaurant is a *trattoria*, things change and women are not corruptors, but protectors of sacred food. In episode 9, in fact, Vissani meets another woman cooking at a restaurant, Stefania (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.58.33), who cooks the *coda alla vaccinara*, the traditional Roman dish cooked in the restaurant *Checco er Carrettiere*, one of the most popular in Rome (MacAdam and Flower 1998), which, in the show, Vissani defines as “*mitico*” (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.58.10). Here Stefania explains the 'sacred' four hour process of preparing the *coda* with all the necessary steps and defends the original version of the dish against those who corrupt it by adding butter to the dish (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 01.00.32). The fact that Vissani agrees and does not clash with her is not strange. Stefania in fact fully embodies the female cook of the *trattorie* that I have analysed in another work as a relevant part of Italian food culture and TV (Buscemi 2014b), and in Chapter 5 as a source of national culinary capital in the second period of the field of Italian food TV.

Checco er Carrettiere is a *trattoria*, and thus a woman is allowed to cook in it without breaking any rule, as seen in Chapter 5. Moreover, the cooked dish is one of the most traditional Roman foods, with deep roots in the lower classes and in the social fabric of the city. As with the *nutella* of the first episode, therefore, the show represents traditional, sacred Italian food in a traditional environment, to construct an archaic idea of Italy. In this archaic Italy, a woman may cook at the restaurant because the restaurant is a *trattoria* and the dish is part of the sacred Italian tradition. In the final scene of the episode (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 01.07.46), Vissani takes the *coda* to one of the most luxury hotels in Rome, and eats it with

Rocco on a terrace overlooking Rome city centre. This is the final demonstration that sacred food confers exclusivity, and that sometimes the dominant class creates distinction by reworking objects and goods belonging to the dominated groups (Bourdieu 2010).

The last remark regards Vissani. As said, while in the case of the female professional chef he clashes with her, in this case he fully respects the techniques adopted by Stefania, the female *trattoria* cook. However, even here, as in other episodes, after Stefania's dish, Vissani wants to cook something personally and prepares another dish. Using some of Stefania's ingredients, he prepares what apparently is the most simple dish of all, an egg, in a really artistic and surprising way. I think that this last scene is important in relation to the accumulation of national culinary capital. By cooking the *coda*, Stefania has accumulated a great quantity of sacred culinary capital as a woman cooking in the *trattoria*. Vissani, instead, by cooking his artistic (and snobby, being a simple egg) dish, through his habitus underlines the difference between female-home and male-artistic cooking, and acquires a male-performing version of sacred culinary capital. In conclusion, the show demonstrates an effective way of supporting national ideologies through the representation of this Italian gender ideology. Even in this case, the state proves to be a meta-tastemaker. In fact, the show represents the national ideology of the division between female-home cooking and male-professional cooking. Influenced by the state and its ideology, the show confirms and reinforces the existing social order. This also happens in the scene filmed in the Jewish kitchen.

Gender Roles in the Jewish Kitchen

In another scene Vissani visits the house of a Jewish couple, Tiziana and Pierre, to explain the technique of Kosher cuisine (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.17.50). Even though brought about by Catholicism, sacred food in this case regards another religion, Hebraism. Kosher food is the uncorrupted food par excellence, because for the Jews the way it is cooked guarantees purity. In this scene, Tiziana teaches the viewer how to cook a kosher artichoke in order to keep it 'pure'

and uncorrupted. Even though the artichoke is not a symbol of Italian cuisine, as in the case of the *entrecôte* its sacrality lies in the strict way of cooking it in order to preserve its purity against enemies. Interestingly, in this scene a Catholic conception of food is lent to another religion, which thus is somehow 'accepted' in a field that is hegemonically dominated by the Catholic religion, as seen in Chapter 5. A different treatment will be reserved for Islamism, as I demonstrate in the next section.

The scene in the Jewish kitchen is divided into two parts. In the first, the show focuses on how to cook kosher artichokes, and in the second Vissani cooks kosher meat. What is important for me, however, is not what Tiziana cooks, but the gender roles that these three people play. In fact, Tiziana cooks the artichokes and explains what she is doing, while Pierre explains why and how they fast for religious reasons. Vissani is split between the two: he is in the centre, between the two, and talks to Tiziana to find out how to cook the artichokes, and to Pierre to get information about the religious meaning of fasting. Pierre does not participate in the cooking at all. This brings about a strong divide between the two members of the couple, a divide that is also traditionally Jewish. In fact, “traditional Judaism is a patriarchal society ... [in which] the men study Torah and the commentaries (Talmud and others) every day and the women perform household duties ... doing anything having to do with food” (Deutsch and Saks 2008, p.36). This traditionally gendered view, moreover, is the same as the show, which, as seen until now, considers home cooking as a female exclusivity. Apart from explaining religious principles, Pierre is totally passive, and for almost the whole scene, he is totally static, silent, with his hands placed on the table, watching Tiziana and Vissani. The only movement he makes is to chew (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.17.56), when tasting a piece of artichoke.

The second part of the scene focuses on Vissani and his cooking of kosher meat and confirms that meat 'must' be cooked by a male, even better when a professional chef (Fiddes 1991). Moreover, Vissani's cooking is constructed as more 'artistic'. Certainly, Vissani's elegant gestures contribute to turning cooking into a form of performance, but what really underlines the difference is the music and the audio component in general. When Tiziana cooks artichokes, in fact, the soundtrack is

somehow 'common' and flows as a background while the woman explains what she is doing. Instead, when Vissani prepares meat, the music is somehow 'magical' and is not mixed with the words. Vissani and the couple, in fact, do not say anything during most of the preparation, and the music is broadcast at a higher volume, underlining Vissani's gestures and 'art'.

All of this has to do with the different functions that music has in relation to images. There are many studies on this issue, but the old categorisation that the composer Aaron Copland theorised about film and music may help. Copland finds five functions that music has in films. The first is underlining time and place. The second highlights the psychological elements of a character. The third is the neutral function of filling silence. The fourth gives a sense of continuity to scenes filmed in different places. The fifth, finally, has the function of helping the structure of the story (Copland 1949).

I believe that these categories also apply to the use of music on television shows. In the case of Tiziana's cooking, I argue that the music serves the third function, because it just fills the silence that exists between the various chatting. In the case of Vissani, instead, it serves the second and the fifth functions, because it underlines Vissani's artistic way of cooking and helps represent it as a form of performance. Thanks to his habitus, which is artistic but which never goes beyond the "common sense" (Bourdieu 1990, p.55), Vissani confirms his power over female cooking. In doing all of this, the programme constructs female home cooking as an everyday activity, and male professional cooking as a festive, artistic form of entertainment, even though it occurs in a home kitchen. In this sense, Vissani's artistic cooking is a form of performance, rather than a kind of performativity, according to the difference between the two terms that I have underlined in my theoretical framework (Butler 1993). Vissani's performance is in fact free, while Tiziana's cooking represents a form of performativity, because she follows precise rules that she explains, while cooking, step by step.

Finally, *Ti Ci Porto Io* underlines Pierre's passivity at the end of the scene, when he should taste Vissani's meat but Tiziana instead feeds him the meat like a child. After

tasting the meat, he just says a short phrase to mean that he has appreciated the dish. I argue that Pierre's passivity is a form of power. In fact, he is excluded from the duty, which is cooking, but enjoys the result by eating the meat, additionally helped by Tiziana. Moreover, he shows off his authority within the couple, by being in charge of the discussion when the topic is religion. Even though her study is not on food but on divorce, and the investigated culture is not Jewish but Indonesian, I agree with O'Shaughnessy that "male passivity is indeed often powerful, but female passivity ... responds to that male power. It is not, therefore, passivity itself that is powerful but the practice of it by men" (O'Shaughnessy 2009, p.139). *Ti Ci Porto Io's* construction of Pierre's passivity, therefore, is the clear and precise representation of dominance and of a form of culinary capital, rooted in both religious and cultural traditions and activated through disinterest in food. Thus, it confirms Bourdieu's theory that detachment from necessity and reality is synonymous with high status (Bourdieu 2010). While the scenes analysed so far support the dominant ideologies on gender in Italy, the character of Michela Rocco moderately challenges them.

Michela Rocco's Character

All the gender issues raised so far broadly confirm men and women's roles in sacred food. However, Naccarato and LeBesco point out that there are also forms of culinary capital that disobey prevailing ideologies and advance elements that challenge the configuration of the field (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In *Ti Ci Porto Io* this happens with Michela Rocco's character. In my analysis, I have frequently neglected Rocco's role, because, as said at the beginning of this chapter, it is Vissani that is responsible for food, while she illustrates Italian monuments and historical sights. This thesis focuses on food and thus her role is, for me, not as central as Vissani's. However, when Rocco deals with food, she does it from challenging perspectives.

Interestingly, these challenging perspectives are concentrated in the first episodes, while in the following, they tend to disappear. There is not a specific scene in which

Rocco emerges as an element challenging the traditional gender roles, but in the first episode she puts forward a female role-model that is unusual on Italian food shows. As other presenters of Italian food shows (Buscemi 2014b), she continually says that she cannot cook (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 01.17.18). However, while the other presenters want to improve their cooking and strive for this, Rocco repeatedly says that she is not interested in cooking at all, and this elicits irony and jokes from Vissani. As said, this trend decreases throughout the series. More courageously, in one scene in episode 1, Rocco shows enthusiasm for molecular cuisine (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.50.47), a type of cooking which is not part of the Italian tradition and that Vissani makes fun of. Even in this case, Rocco clearly expresses a minority point of view in favour of molecular cuisine, however the programme importantly shows her viewpoint. Again in the first episode, she cannot make *pici* and does not recognise the right herbs in the garden, and several times Vissani underlines that she would eat *penne* and ragout every day. Finally, she also makes fun of Sandra, the elegant woman in Odescalchi Castle, of the flower designer and his refined way of setting the table (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 1, 00.02.47; 00.03.06) and she would prefer a simple salad to Vissani's traditional Italian dishes (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3, 00.05.13).

As said, in the following episodes Rocco's character gradually changes. Instead of challenging dominant elements of sacred culinary capital, she embodies the rich woman shopping for good food and generally concentrates on elements extraneous to food. She shows her alternative mindset regarding topics extraneous to food; for example when she suggests that thankfully there exists divorce to the couple celebrating their marriage (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.03.36). When interviewed about this, the producer did not say anything precise on the gradual change of Rocco's role, but admitted that after the first two episodes, they realised that Vissani and traditional Italian foods were the elements getting the highest ratings, and that ratings were the only request of Telecom Italia, La7's owner (see Appendix 2). Rocco's gradual adherence to Italian tradition is confirmed in episode 5 and 14. As seen above, it is Rocco that goes to the monasteries to get and celebrate the nun's food, the most original, evident and direct form of 'sacred' food.

The Jamie Oliver of the 1990s has been pointed out as an example of the “new man” (Hollows 2003b); a character that mediated between the strong, traditional male figure and the gentle, urbane man of the 1980s. However, I argue that defining Rocco in *Ti Ci Porto Io* as a sort of 'new Italian woman', who expresses the rejection of traditional female roles, only partially explains what this character actually represents. I believe that her role must also be seen through Bourdieu's theory of distance from reality (Bourdieu 2010). In fact, as underlined at the beginning of this chapter, Rocco is an upper-class, aristocratic woman, connected to rich and powerful people. In the show, her not caring about cooking is certainly a form of rejection of stereotyped roles, but I also see it as the demonstration that she can afford this disinterest. Her not being able to cook may be seen in this sense, as the “taste of luxury” (Bourdieu 2010, p.171) of an aristocratic woman who does not need to cook because someone else will do it for her. Finally, her linking to the most sacred food ever, the nun's food, involves her in the bigger picture of Italian tradition.

To sum up, this section on the gender issues raised by *Ti Ci Porto Io* has confirmed that the show mirrors the strict division between home and professional cooking that I have found in the representation of sacred food. However, while in other representations female home cooking is considered as superior to male professional cooking, here the fact that the presenter is a male chef balances the relationship between the two genders. Male and female cooking are thus considered as separate but equally effective, while the only problems arise when someone tries to invade the other field. The programme shows that men cannot deal with home cooking and women cannot be professional chefs. Finally, women are only allowed to cook professionally in the *trattoria*, transferring elements and foods of home cooking to this type of restaurant kitchen.

Therefore, the stereotyped role of the woman in the home kitchen that I have found in Chapter 5 as belonging to both Catholic hegemony and Berlusconi's era is widely mirrored, and the scene in the Jewish kitchen also confirms this. At home, the woman 'must' cope with cooking while other, 'higher' activities, such as talking about religion, are exclusive to men. Finally, I have found that men's passivity in the kitchen is actually a powerful position.

In looking at my analysis of the field of food TV and its political economy situation, it is natural to ask why the broadcaster La7, whose origins were in fighting Berlusconi, chooses such a conservative view when freed from his influence and at a time when Berlusconi was no longer the Prime Minister. I argue that this happened for merely economic reasons. As said by the producer, the main aim of La7's owner was to increase its ratings (see Appendix 2). As said, Berlusconi was not replaced through elections. Although he was excluded from the political field, he was still popular among Italian people. Thus, it may be argued that his ideology was still dominant in the Italian field, and that, in order to get high ratings, La7 decided to follow this ideology to gain the favour of the audience. Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme may help understand this process. La7 shifts from legitimisation to popularisation, and therefore needs to follow the existing Berlusconian dominant ideology, rather than experimenting with risky new trends. Thus, paradoxically, in the moment in which Berlusconi is not in charge anymore, La7 needs to support his ideology.

The last outcome regarding gender (and even class) relates to the figure of Michela Rocco. Among the main elements of the show, she is the only one that challenges dominant ideologies and beliefs of sacred food. She cannot cook and she does not want to learn how, she appreciates molecular cuisine and does not recognise herbs in the garden. However, I have explained her character not only in terms of the rejection of tradition, but also in relation to class issues. I argue in fact that Rocco's disinterest in food links to Bourdieu's theory of distance from reality, and that it reinforces Rocco's distinction from the other elements of the programme. The next section regards ethnicity, the last category through which I have analysed the representation of national culinary capital on this show.

Culinary Capital and the Other

Ethnocentrism and Sacred Culinary Capital

In my theoretical framework I have developed the concept of ethnocentrism. This is the view according to which “one's own group is the centre of everything, and all

others are scaled and rated with reference to it” (Sumner 2002, p.13). Comparing home and nation, Morley finds that something may disturb the “solace of ... settled homogeneity” (Morley 2004b, p.316) around us (and also molecular cuisine could disturb our serenity):

Just as the home may be seen as profaned by the presence of matter out of place, the neighbourhood may be seen as profaned by the presence of “strangers”, or the national culture seen as profaned by the presence of foreign cultural products. (Morley 2004b, p.315)

In Chapter 5, I have found that relevant elements of the Italian state (e.g. dominant political parties, but also Slow Food) have always supported ethnocentric ideology. Certainly, ethnocentrism has strong links to sacred food, which, as said, is continuously threatened by someone else. This someone else, in fact, is frequently the Other, a concept that neoliberal society produces to create difference.

This ethnocentric mechanism is perfectly reproduced on *Ti Ci Porto Io*. The show recognises the role of Slow Food when visits a Slow Food presidio (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 5, 01.21.40), and even celebrates the film on the *focacceria* open close to a fast food, underlining that the idea of the film originated during a Slow Food festival (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 3, 00.28.18). Moreover, *Ti Ci Porto Io* continually represents food that is threatened by someone else. I have just analysed the scene in which the 'someone else' threatening sacred food is firstly Japanese cuisine, which fries mozzarella, and secondly the female professional chef who prepares the Japanese dish in Italy. However, the scene when Vissani visits a Chinese restaurant in Rome (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.29.10) is really illuminating in this sense. Here Vissani accumulates and shows the audience his sacred, profoundly Italian culinary capital by delegitimising the food of the Other. To demonstrate this, I need to analyse the scene in depth, because elements such as clothes and cutlery are important symbols that must be explained.

When Vissani enters the kitchen, he meets Sonia, the Chinese owner of the restaurant, and a Chinese cook. There is also a third Chinese person in the kitchen,

wearing classic (and stereotypical) Chinese clothes. Vissani unveils that he is Antonio Giuliani, an Italian (and Roman) comedian (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.29.26). Sonia and the Chinese cook clean and prepare fathead minnow, and Vissani and Giuliani find the practice very noisy. Giuliani says that after this cooking, they will need an ENT specialist (00.31.01). They are visibly upset by the noise and by the fact that the cook does not speak Italian very well, and make fun of what the cook says. When the dish is ready, Sonia tells them that they will eat it with chopsticks (00.33.10). Now Vissani and Giuliani are no longer in the kitchen, but in the restaurant, looking really embarrassed, while groups of solely Chinese people are having their dinner behind them. Sonia explains how to use chopsticks to Vissani and Giuliani. Giuliani says that it is as difficult as the game Shanghai (00.34.40); he tries, fails and eventually manages it. As soon as Sonia leaves them, Vissani takes a fork out of his pocket (00.35.20) and they both eat with the fork and double over laughing.

I argue that, in this scene, clothes, cutlery and social roles form codes, signs and symbols whose aim is to create distinction. First of all, the clothes do not form two codes, the Chinese and Italian, as one would imagine, but three. The first code is made up of the 'everyday' clothes worn by Vissani and Sonia. Vissani is wearing a blue sweater, a shirt and dark trousers, while Sonia is wearing a red shirt, a dark sweater underneath, and dark trousers. They are the 'everyday' clothes in Vissani and Sonia's respective countries, Italy and China.



Figure 11: Vissani, Sonia, the cook and Giuliani at the Chinese restaurant

Even the second code cannot be associated with nationality. This is the code represented by the professional clothes of the Chinese cook, a white apron and a chef's hat, which is the uniform of many chefs all over the world. Finally, the third code of clothes relates to China but, paradoxically, is worn by an Italian, the comedian Giuliani. Moreover, this code is really exaggerated, especially in Giuliani's hat, which is actually really rare to find in today's China. It, instead, relates to the images of the Chinese of the past, seen in many old films. The false pigtail and the Chinese shirt worn by Giuliani also contribute to the construction of this 'exaggerated Chinese' code.

All of this affects the perception that the viewer has of the Chinese, who Giuliani's clothes ridicule and pigeonhole as immutable, different and stuck in their past. I have already explained Lippmann's (2004) theory of stereotypes in my literature review. However, it is important to remind ourselves that “stereotypes de-legitimize groups of people in the minds and eyes of those who hold power and access to resources” (Merskin 2011, p.xv). Finally, stereotypes “fulfil important identity needs for the dominant culture” (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz 2005, p.112), therefore they support the dominant classes and their exerting of power, as also argued by Hall (1997). The show actually constructs a stereotype which is, as said, exaggerated, but this is just a small part of a wider ethnocentric strategy.

The show confirms this inequality in the last part of the scene, when cutlery becomes the symbol of difference between nations. Chopsticks and forks, here, are signs that clearly refer to wider national codes, Chinese and Italian respectively. Chopsticks are represented as an obstacle, a challenge that the two Italians must overcome. The fork, instead, is the solution to the problem, moreover with a touch of irony. In considering that this is the end of the scene, the programme represents Italy as the winner of the match.

In another scene (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 00.22.10), Vissani and Rocco go to the multiethnic market in Rome, and as in the Chinese restaurant, we never see Italians here, apart from the cast of the show. Thus, the market and restaurant are constructed as places separated from the rest of Rome, sites where only foreigners

buy and sell, and prepare and eat their food; but this is not what happens in everyday Rome. The Esquilino market is actually a place where Italians and foreigners both buy and sell food every day, and this is the reason for the clashes and problems between locals and immigrants that affected the area for around ten years, which are finally now starting to decrease (Beltramme 2010). In the show, instead, the market appears as a ghetto, frequented solely by people from other countries. The final result is a strong separation between foreigners and Italians. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, studies found that “isolation is at once a cause and an effect of race prejudice. It is a vicious circle – isolation, prejudice; prejudice, isolation” (Park 1917 cited in Lyman 1993, p.384). Park finds that “groups went through set stages in their interaction with each other that roughly traversed a path marked by isolation, competition, particularly in the realm of commerce, conflict, accommodation, and finally assimilation” (Wirth 1998, p.xiii). Applying the developmentalist Park's stages to this Roman market, I argue that while in the everyday life we are in a transactional area between the stages of conflict and accommodation, *Ti Ci Porto Io* wants to place this representation at the earlier stages of isolation and prejudice, without any perspective of moving the situation onto the next steps.

I believe that all of this relates to what I have found in Chapter 5. The fear of the Other during the years of the Catholic hegemony, in Berlusconi's policies and in big parts of Slow Food's ideology cannot be considered marginal mindsets in Italy. In fact, a survey only “ranked Italian citizens nineteenth out of twenty-five member countries in terms of tolerance toward immigrants” (Vaccaro 2010, p.206). Finally, the interview with the Italian producer also confirmed this form of food nationalism. After the first, calm part of the interview in which we discussed diverse topics, in the last part we turned to the topic of Italy and its food, not focusing exclusively on the show. The producer soon changed his tone, repeatedly complaining that Italian food is overlooked by politicians. He continually spoke in the first person plural, saying many times 'we Italians' and 'our food', which he referred to as 'the best food in the world'. Food nationalism had obviously affected him too.

I have already explained in the section on gender why all of this ends up in the most progressive Italian channel, founded to fight Berlusconi's conservative politics. As also advanced by the producer (see Appendix 2), the desire for ratings convinced La7's executives to follow Berlusconian ideology. Ethnocentrism and fear of the Other, rooted in Italian culture, allowed the broadcaster to achieve good ratings. What is more, it is interesting to note that, as seen in Chapter 5, even Vissani at the time of shooting was shifting towards popularisation on Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme; certainly, agreeing with a dominant ideology is the shortest way to become popular. Finally, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) argues that culinary capital sometimes confirms and sometimes challenges dominant ideologies. Among the few elements which challenge ethnocentrism, it is important to underline the character of the comedian Giovanni Cacioppo (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.18.06). He and Rocco, not by chance the other 'challenging' element of the show, walk through the casbah of Mazara del Vallo (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 14, 00.22.25) and meet Ali and other immigrants that are represented by the show as friendly people. This is really a different approach, in comparison to the scenes analysed above, but it testifies to an emergent element that the show does not ignore. Other times, instead, Otherness is somehow 'blurred', as in the cases analysed below.

The Blurred Otherness of Three Foreigners

In this subsection, I analyse three scenes of *Ti Ci Porto Io* in which Otherness is represented as blurred and subject to Italianness. These scenes increasingly reinforce Italian culinary capital, and show Italian food and cuisine as dominant tastes. Moreover, in the first two scenes the subjugation of the Other is equally shared by the two foreign people, an American and a British, but in the third scene, this process is, as Bourdieu often says, inculcated.

The first scene regards Tony (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 9, 01.15.55) an American man who lives in Civita di Bagnoregio, a small Italian village that Vissani and Rocco visit. Tony firstly takes the presenters to a woman that prepares *pici*, a traditional Italian pasta, and secondly hosts the psychoanalyst Crepet and the

presenters in his house, a small apartment with a garden around it, where he grows Italian herbs and spices. It is really interesting that Tony is a guide rather than a bearer of Otherness. He does not inform the presenters about other cuisines and food, but shows that he is an expert on Italian food. The programme therefore represents a foreigner as linked not to foreign cuisines, but to Italian food. The fact that Tony is American is mentioned by Crepet, and without this statement, the viewer could think that he is Italian. In fact, the programme denies Tony the only clue that could reveal him as a foreigner, his American accent. Throughout the whole episode, in fact, Tony never speaks. English language, instead, is underlined when Vissani and Rocco go to a cooking school in which courses are taught in English for American tourists (episode 7, 01.20.43), a scene that underlines the international success of Italian food. In the end, the programme represents Tony as totally devoted to Italian food and without any sign of foreignness, to the extent that the launch in the garden ends with a praise of Slow Food's zero miles theory (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 7, 01.23.47). In some sense, his Otherness has been cancelled out and now he is only devoted to Italy. Thus, Tony is represented as a holder of a great amount of sacred, Italian culinary capital, but this wealth carries the high price of renouncing his origins.

To capture the deep meaning of this scene, I would replace Morley's concept of home with Bourdieu's field. In this case, the presence of foreign food in the field of Italian food TV would have disturbed the "solace of settled homogeneity" (Morley 2004b, p.316) of sacred culinary capital. The show, in the end, does not 'Italianise' Tony (the presenters say that he is American), but constructs him within a set of Italian hegemony, and cancels out his foreign elements.

The second scene regards Gillian a British guide living in Tuscany (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 7, 00.15.47 and 00.19.25), and, even though it does not relate to food directly, it offers useful elements on the representation of the Other. Gillian is introduced to Vissani and Rocco as an 'encyclopedia' of the history of Giovanni da Verrazzano. She speaks with a strong British accent, however strives to pronounce the 'c' as people from Tuscany do, joking about this. Later, she says that she has been

living in Tuscany for 42 years. She arrived to only stay one year, knew an Italian man, who today is still her husband, and decided to remain. She knows many details of Italian history, foods and wines, and, again, does not say anything about her British side. Like Tony, her Otherness has been cancelled out and now she is only devoted to Italy, and, in her case, to an Italian man. In so doing, she cannot disturb what Morley has termed as the “solace of settled homogeneity” (Morley 2004b, p.316).

The third analysed scene regards Sharif, a young cook. When Vissani visits the Italian chef Giorgio (Rocco and Vissani 2012, episode 18, 00.51.25), he introduces Vissani to his two assistants, Gianni and Sceriffo (which in Italian means 'sheriff'). Vissani asks why they call this man *Sceriffo*. Giorgio answers that his real name is Sharif, and they call him *Sceriffo*, italianising his name. There is no certainty that Sharif is foreign, even though the name Sharif is Arabic (Norman 2003). Giorgio, the chef, and the other Italian assistant have changed it into something more Italian, even though the new name is not actually a name. In short, a foreign element in the Italian kitchen has been 'normalised'. Interestingly, Giorgio underlines that it was not Sharif that purposely changed his name, but it was the other Italian members of the staff, Giorgio and his assistant, that did so. The change of the name was, thus, imposed (inculcated, in Bourdieu's terms). Changing or mispronouncing the names of the Other is certainly one of the major ethnocentric and racist strategies (Wright 1998; Penketh 2000), generally used to cancel out the Other's identity and adapt it to the dominant one. Moreover, Sharif/*Sceriffo* cooks Italian food, as Giorgio requires him to. Thus, by changing the foreign name, the Italian identity of that kitchen is safe.

Finally, the new name given to Sharif, *Sceriffo*, is not only Italian, but also refers to the American sphere. If analysed on a paradigmatic scale, the word *Sceriffo* relates to concepts like America, West, Western films, and killing of the Other. This is the system of concepts opposed to the Arabic sphere that is the reference of the name Sharif. In this therefore, the programme constructs a dominant element, which is the Western hemisphere; this cancels out the Other's culture, in this case the Arabic one. Even this, as in the scene at the Chinese restaurant, may be seen as a winning

ideology that allows La7 to shift from the legitimisation of the years of the fight against Berlusconi to a more popular position. If culinary capital is the power that the agents in the field accumulate through food, in this scene Vissani and Giorgio, and implicitly all of the Western world, accumulate a great quantity of food-related power in opposition to the Arab world.

To sum up, this section has found that *Ti Ci Porto Io* constructs national culinary capital relating to the Other from an ethnocentric perspective, which I have demonstrated in Chapter 5 to be one of the main Italian ideologies. Sacred food is often represented as threatened in its sacrality, and the show highlights the Other as one of the threateners, as in the case of fried mozzarella in Japanese cuisine. Moreover, ethnocentrism is also underlined when the show delegitimises other cuisines, as the Chinese in the scene above analysed. Finally, I have found that another strategy of the show is blurring Otherness. In the cases of Tony, Gillian and Sharif, *Ti Ci Porto Io* represents two men coming from abroad acquiring national culinary capital by forgetting or being forced to forget their origins. This ethnocentric approach may be linked to neoliberal societies and their need to create Otherness, but also to a long-standing approach in Italy. Thus, even when referring to the Other, the show funnels ideologies and beliefs which are part and parcel of its meta-tastemaker, i.e. the state.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have analysed *Ti Ci Porto Io*, one of the two shows central to this thesis. In the first part of the chapter, I have focused on the political economy and field positioning of La7 and Verve Media Company, the broadcaster and the production company of the show. I have found that the strong political influence on Italian TV has been the principal reason for the frequent changes in La7's ownership. This has also brought about change in the role of this broadcaster within the field and in its shifting between popularization and legitimisation, as theorised by Stringfellow et al. (2013). Verve Media Company, instead, is a small production company, owned by a producer that splits the activity of his company into two parts; the first is close

to the pole of legitimization, and the second to that of popularization. This is the strategy for survival of a small company competing in the concentrated neoliberal market, dominated by big multinationals.

In the second part of the chapter, I have analysed the sampled episodes, and I have investigated how the show constructs sacred national culinary capital, specifically in relation to class, gender and ethnicity. I have found that the show constructs an idealised version of Italian entrepreneurs, totally detached from elements that are usually parts of the business world, such as workers, money, and so on. I argue that, in representing an idealised, bygone version of these entrepreneurs, *Ti Ci Porto Io* depicts them as rich in national culinary capital and free from 'fastidious' duties such as coping with workers, fatigue and commercial interests. The showing of these duties would have tainted these characters, and the sacrality of their culinary capital would have become more disputable. This is exactly the strategy identified by Bourdieu, when he sees the dominant classes representing themselves as workers “without having the habitus of a worker” (2010, p.373). The programme hides the promotion of the real businesses of these entrepreneurs, but I have demonstrated that *Ti Ci Porto Io* represents logos, names and activities linked to their companies in a 'masked' way. This confirms the neoliberal attitude of the show and proves that the idealisation of these activities is only a strategy to promote the entrepreneurs in a more hegemonic light. Finally, I find another link to neoliberalism in the massive representation of entrepreneurs. Their frequent presence seems to entail that, apart from Vissani and the other chefs, entrepreneurs are the only category empowered to talk about food on TV. Thus, food is shaped by the programme mostly as economic goods, and I have already reported how liberalism is the money-led ideology par excellence (Turner 2003)

However, Italian entrepreneurs sometimes betray the sacrality of sacred food, as in the case of Nello, who adds powdered milk to his cream. Vissani reaffirms his role as tastemaker and reprimands him. Ferron, instead, is the perfect producer of sacred food: he works rice with the same tool as his ancestors did in 1650, does not add any non-natural ingredient and presents his son and nephew as heirs to this family

tradition. In the end, in presenting one negative and one positive example, the show reinforces the distinction between what is 'right' and what is 'wrong', and clarifies what legitimate taste is and who holds the biggest quantity of culinary capital.

In terms of gender, I have analysed the relationships between Vissani and women, and the gender roles within the kitchen played by the members of a Jewish couple. In short, the analysis has highlighted a strong division between female cooking, often linked to the home, and male cooking, which the show always considers as a professional activity. The gender division of work already theorised by Bourdieu (2010) leads here to the construction of two versions of sacred culinary capital, the female and the male, always well-separated. When Vissani attempts to break into the area of female cooking, by going to the market full of housewives, one of the women challenges him and ridicules his role of professional chef. In that area, women decide what is good and what is not. However, when women enter the male sector of professional cooking, Vissani acts as a pitiless tastemaker and demeans their value as professional chefs, as in the two cases analysed. Always on gender, the show fully confirms that women may only cook professionally in a family environment as in *trattorie*, the Italian family-run restaurants where women cook and men serve the tables, as in the case of the Roman trattoria Checco er Carrettiere.

Finally, in the case of the Jewish couple, all of this is confirmed. The woman is in charge of the home-kitchen, while the man does not participate in the preparation of the dish (and his passivity is a form of power and culinary capital 'in absence'). Their relationship perfectly mirrors the "normal family" (Silva 2005, p.88) which is part of my theoretical framework and which is also based on gender inequality. Unchained from family responsibilities, Vissani as 'the male chef' cooks in an entertaining way, by employing his 'artistic' talents; this is also underlined by gestures and the music. This relates to Bourdieu's *habitus*, and it is through his *habitus* that Vissani acquires his sacred culinary capital in the scene. All of this clearly links to the more general Italian gender landscape emerging in Chapter 5.

As seen, Catholicism and Berlusconiism have tended to limit women's influence within society, and food has always been a means through which to underline this approach, thanks also to Slow Food's ideology.

The final section of this chapter has centred on how ethnicity and representation of the Other and the Other's food contribute to the creation and accumulation of sacred culinary capital. I have found that the show has a strong ethnocentric approach and that it often associates sacred food with ethnocentrism. In the scene in the Chinese restaurant, Vissani and Giuliani do not take the Chinese cuisine seriously and repeatedly judge the Italian way of cooking to be superior. Thus, Chinese cuisine is seen from a worse perspective than the “asymmetrical position” (De la Campa 2000, p.79) that is part of my theoretical framework. This perfectly links to another part of this thesis, found in Chapter 5 regarding the nationalistic approach to food of the Slow Food movement and many of Berlusconi's laws. I have also explained the conservative behaviour of a broadcaster founded to fight Berlusconi by analysing La7's position in Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme. As also confirmed by the producer of the show, La7 was in search of good ratings rather than political fights, and I argue that this encouraged the broadcaster to take on conservative and populist views of people coming from other countries. In three other scenes, the show depicts three people coming from abroad. Actually, these people do not bring anything from their countries and 'bend' to Italian sacred food.

Thus, referring to class, gender and ethnicity, *Ti Ci Porto Io* supports what I have proved in Chapter 5 to be national ideologies. The idealisation of reality, the strong gender divide of kitchen roles, ethnocentrism and other beliefs represented on the show are fundamental principles in the organisation of the Italian state. These are among the main reasons why I argue that the state may be seen as a meta-tastemaker favouring its ideologies in order to reinforce itself. In the next chapter, I will analyse the British programme *Jamie's Great Britain* with the same structure and modalities as I have analysed *Ti Ci Porto Io*.

CHAPTER 7

JAMIE'S GREAT BRITAIN

Structure of the Chapter

This chapter analyses *Jamie's Great Britain*, one of the two programmes that this work focuses on. In Chapter 5, I have analysed the dominant ideologies in the fields of British TV and food TV. In this chapter, I analyse how *Jamie's Great Britain* behaves in relation to those British ideologies, to understand how they shape forms of culinary capital within the show. First, I carry out a political economy analysis of Channel 4, the broadcaster, and Fresh One, the production company of *Jamie's Great Britain*. Second, I provide a general overview of the programme and its presenter's role. Third, I analyse how the show combines class and ethnicity to create social and ethnic difference through cosmopolitanism. Fourth, I demonstrate that cosmopolitanism is not the only form of national culinary capital represented in the show. In fact, another form of culinary capital combining rough, 'masculine' and outdoor cooking is represented as linked to the British landscape to create distinction, mostly about gender. Finally, I conclude the whole chapter by summarising it all.

Jamie's Great Britain: *Political Economy Analysis*

Channel 4

Channel 4 started broadcasting in 1982, “charged by Parliament to appeal to 'tastes and interests not generally catered for by ITV', 'to be innovative and experimental in content and form', and 'to disseminate education and educational programmes’” (Hobson 2008, p.vii). It was conceived as a third pole between the BBC and ITV and its aim was “to represent minority interests, and for much of the decade did indeed offer programs catering explicitly to feminist, gay and ethnic minority interests” (Gilbert 2008, p.41). Channel 4's position between public service and commercial aims was also reinforced by the financial mechanism that the channel relied on. In

fact, “Channel 4 is financed out of subscriptions paid by the ITV companies; in return, the ITV companies gain revenue from the sale of advertising time on the channel” (Thompson 1990, p.186). Clearly, “the financial stability assured to the channel by the funding mechanism meant that it had no immediate need to worry about whether it was attracting or pleasing its audience” (Hobson 2008, p.190). While the distinction with ITV was established by Parliament, it is also important to underline its economic difference from the BBC. In fact, “unlike the BBC, it had no financial benefit from the Licence Fee, so had no need to satisfy its public paymaster” (Hobson 2008, p.190).

This enviable position of freedom and independence from ratings started to be threatened in 1993, when the Channel Four Television Corporation replaced the old Channel Four Television Company. It was not only a matter of name change, but in fact from that date Channel 4 “had to sell their own advertising space, so it was inevitable that some of their programmes would change and that they would need programmes which brought in large audiences” (Hobson 2008, p.191). This led to a decisive twist; for example, broadcasting popular formats such as *Big Brother* in 2000, allowed Channel 4 to surpass ITV in the ratings for the British 16 to 35 year old demographic (Hobson 2008). This shift towards much more popular and entertaining programmes led to much criticism, but was consistently profitable for the channel (Hobson 2008). The alternative spirit of Channel 4, however, has survived in some unchanged programmes; for example the 'alternative' end of the year message. In this, an alternative personality addresses the British at the same time the Queen does on the BBC in a more formal and institutional way.

What has been said so far identifies Channel 4 as a broadcaster that is partly a public service, and partly a commercial channel. In Bourdieu's terms, in the field of British TV, Channel 4 accumulates power in both cultural and economic capital. Moreover, since 1993, in Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) terms, its position has shifted further towards the pole of commercialisation. Moreover, broadcasting a popular and global format such as *Big Brother* in 2000 marked the channel out as an semi-commercial agent, even though some alternative programmes have continued to be broadcast.

The arrival of Jamie Oliver for a special programme in 2000, the same year that *Big Brother* was aired, and from 2002 exclusively working for Channel 4, may be considered in line with this shift. In fact, Oliver's 'social' shows confirm that Channel 4 aimed at shifting towards popularity without completely losing its original alternative mission (Brown 2007). While Channel 4 had previously satisfied these two needs with different programmes, Oliver represented the opportunity to pursue both popularisation and legitimisation with the same show.

Paradoxically, Oliver had presented his early, entertaining shows on the BBC. They are shows that had little to do with the public service, but, as seen above, at those times the BBC was in search of popularization, in order to survive in the new composition of the field. The character of the trendy, young chef travelling through London on his Italian scooter and inviting his friends to his home to eat trendy food (Hollows 2003b) perfectly satisfied these needs. New forms of culinary capital relating to a young middle-class audience allowed the public service to reposition itself in the field. The BBC, however, also had to stick to its public service mission, and broadcast Oliver until the moment when his commercial interests overwhelmed the public service content. When Oliver “upset the BBC in 2001 by appearing in Sainsbury's commercials” (Brown 2007, p.278), the aims of the broadcaster and those of the presenter were non-reconcilable. The BBC did not renew Oliver's contract (Clawson 2010) and in 2000, he created Fresh One, his own production company, in order to sell shows to other broadcasters.

Oliver's willingness to change direction and to focus on social content led him to Channel 4. In a few years, Oliver and his company Fresh One have produced and presented, and Channel 4 has broadcast amongst others *Jamie's Kitchen* (Oliver 2002), *Jamie's School Dinners* (Oliver 2005a), *Jamie's Ministry of Food* (Oliver 2008), *Jamie's American Road Trip* (Oliver 2009), *Jamie's 30-Minute Meals* (Oliver 2010), *Jamie's Great Britain* (Oliver 2011), *Jamie's 15-Minute Meals* (Oliver 2012), to mention just the most important.

On the one hand, Oliver was free to continue to produce his own shows and shoot as many commercials as he liked. On the other hand, Channel 4 could accumulate the

economic capital provided by his successful shows, and the cultural, culinary capital brought in by Oliver's 'social' shows.

Therefore, in renewing their positions in the field, Oliver and Channel 4 have found their “*natural place* already existing or to be created... because producers or products not in their right place ... are more or less condemned to failure” (Bourdieu 1996, p.165). Moreover, from this moment on, these shows impose a new legitimate taste. The social message launched by Oliver on Channel 4 and his involvement of the poor, jailed youngsters and wayward school children in his shows mean that “food was increasingly represented has a vehicle for social responsibility” (Hollows and Jones 2010b, p.308). In this light, we may see that the apparently strange alliance between Channel 4 and Oliver is actually a successful strategy to achieve different forms of capital and power and, in the end, to create social distinction. One of the most powerful means of this strategy is certainly *Fresh One*, the production company owned by Oliver. The following subsection focuses on it.

Fresh One and 'Jamie Oliver Inc.'

In this subsection, I analyse the political economy of Fresh One, the production company of *Jamie's Great Britain*. However, the fact that the company is owned by Jamie Oliver makes it impossible to analyse Fresh One as detached from Oliver as understood as a global entrepreneur, a sort of “Jamie Oliver Inc.” (Bell and Hollows 2007, p.26). *Fresh One* is the production company created in 2000 and “wholly owned by Jamie Oliver” (Fresh One, no date), even though it is the result of a joint venture with Freemantle Media (Clawson 2010), a giant of the TV industry, whose revenue in 2012 alone was “£1.47bn, up 19.7%” (Conlan 2013). Fresh One had 900 employees in 2009, as Oliver said in the fifth episode of *Jamie's American Road Trip* (Oliver 2009). In 2012, Fresh One was rated as the no. 26 production company in the UK by turnover (Dams 2012).

Fresh One allowed Oliver to overcome the problems that he had faced in the early part of his career, when he presented programmes produced by Optomen and

broadcast by the BBC (Clawson 2010). Optomen is another giant of the global TV market, valued in 2010 at about £40m (Sweeney 2010). Oliver objected to the fact that Optomen also earned revenues from the books based on his shows, and only in the third edition of the book *The Naked Chef* did he succeed in excluding Optomen from this business. In the meantime, as reported above, his relations with the BBC also worsened because of his Sainsbury's commercials. With Fresh One, Oliver continued to associate his name with a global producer, but while Optomen was previously his employer, with Fresh One, Fremantle is instead his business partner.

Producing TV shows is only one of Oliver's many businesses. He is a publisher, and already in 2005 “his cookery books have been translated into 23 languages and his company, *Sweet as Candy*, had revenues of more than £7m last year” (MediaGuardian 2006). He also owns three restaurant chains and some food shops, has branded a line of kitchenware, produced content for mobile phones and has even given his name to a video game (Clawson 2010). Among the others, Jamie's Italian, the company that owns Oliver's restaurants, in 2012 “leapt by 30.3% to £93.9m, resulting in earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation (EBITDA) of £13.2m, up 19.3% year on year” (Stamford 2013). Moreover, Oliver has expanded his business to Dubai, Australia and the Republic of Ireland, Hong Kong, China, Singapore and Russia (Stamford 2013).

Related to this, many works have already shed light on Oliver's big conflict of interests, certainly not comparable with Berlusconi's, but in any case notable, especially in a country like Britain, ever concerned with such issues. Among the conflicts already analysed, there are firstly, the unemployed youngsters that in *Jamie's Kitchen* worked in Oliver's new restaurant *Fifteen*, and were actually unwittingly promoting the restaurant (Hollows and Jones 2010b). Secondly, in *Jamie's School Dinners* (Oliver 2005a), Oliver taught the children a song on the show, and sang it with them; the song, however, was strikingly similar to that in Oliver's *Sainsbury* commercials (Leggott and Hochscherf 2010).

A third case emerges from my analysis of *Jamie's Great Britain*. In fact, shortly after the end of the show (Sturges 2014), Oliver opened the restaurant chain *Union Jacks*,

partially closed in 2014 (Weaver 2014), which served the same 'rough' food promoted in the series. Even more interestingly, the Union Jack that gives the name to the restaurants is continually highlighted on the show because it is its logo, which is stuck on the army truck driven by Oliver throughout the series, and is on the cover of and on many promotional photos of the related book. I will more deeply analyse these elements below.

In relation to my theoretical framework, it is clear that when Oliver founded Fresh One, he ceased his struggle between the chef and the entrepreneur theorised by Fantasia (2010), and played both roles. As an entrepreneur, he needed to share his business with another company, the giant Freemantle. This global company, however, is somehow hidden in Oliver's activity. For example, the Fresh One website writes that the company is 'wholly' owned by Oliver. This is a need of the other Jamie Oliver, the chef, because as stated by Fantasia (2010), the symbolic capital of the chef must not be represented as dependant on or supported by big industry, but as loose and free from any constraint. By creating *Fresh One*, Oliver perfectly realises Bourdieu's homology between the fields of production "and the fields ... in which tastes are determined" (Bourdieu 2010, p.227). In fact, as a producer Oliver can develop his shows, in which he represents the tastes that Oliver as a celebrity chef legitimises.

Fresh One started by exclusively producing Oliver's shows, but soon also developed other shows, such as *Streetdance*, *Jonathan Dimbleby's African/American Journeys*, and *Idris Elba's How Clubbing/Hip Hop Changed the World*. To reinforce its activity as a production company per se, in 2009 *Fresh One* appointed the expert producer Roy Ackerman as Managing Director. In doing so, Oliver has secured the company, and his commercial side. The profits will continue to grow even in the case of Oliver as-a-presenter's decline (Clawson 2010). Even more interestingly, the company's website states that the shows produced by Fresh One "have sold into 60 territories and have been translated into 29 different languages" (Fresh One, no date); this links Fresh One to the global attitude of the whole field of British TV. This also links Fresh One to its country, Great Britain, and its neocolonialist attitude. Thus in his

programmes, Oliver may also challenge the British approach to food as a chef, but, as an entrepreneur, he and his company perfectly mirror the national ideology of neocolonialism.

Hollows and Jones (2010b, p.319) have already linked Channel 4's Oliver shows to Bourdieu, arguing that “ethical sentiments may ... ultimately reproduce class hierarchies”. This relates to Oliver as a chef, but I believe that by setting up Fresh One, Oliver has set a huge machinery in motion that produces a great amount of power: first, as economic (Fresh One revenues); second, as culinary (Oliver's as a chef); and third as symbolic capital (because it is successful and globally acknowledged). Moreover, focusing on cultural power, he accumulated it through Fresh One in all the three forms theorised by Bourdieu. First, through his shows, Oliver clearly accumulated cultural capital through the exploitation of foods understood as cultural goods (Bourdieu 1986). Second, in programmes such as *Jamie's School Children*, he legitimised the taste of social food through the school and the educational system (Bourdieu 2010). Finally, he also institutionalised the accumulation of cultural capital (Prieur and Savage 2011) by negotiating new laws on food in Britain with Tony Blair, and by representing a post-modern Ministry of Food in one of his shows.

Another interesting point is how Fresh One, its programmes and its owner position themselves in relation to ethnicity. Regarding ethnicity, Fresh One has produced politically correct shows such as *White Boy*, *Black Nanny*, a documentary about a white boy brought up by a black nanny under apartheid. Moreover, in one interview Oliver declared that he is “sixth-generation Sudanese” (Singh 2009). Contrastingly, Oliver sometimes had some trouble with his unconcerning approach to people from other countries.

Sainsbury's had to apologise when in an ad, he spoke “Chinese like characters in badly dubbed movies” (Whitehead 2002), and during a conference also heavily joked about the Germans' “gassing of chicks”, raising protests from many Germans (Allen 2008). Confirming that Oliver, in this sense, is a company, the celebrity chef's spokesman apologised not culturally or politically, but commercially, by saying: “We

work very closely with German TV, and the German book publisher and we love all Germans. I'm sure he didn't mean to offend them" (Metro 2008).

I believe that these episodes do not relate to racism or Nazism, but to the roles that Oliver and his company play within the field. In fact in an interview in the French magazine *Paris Match*, he also attacked British food and tough manners (Allen 2008), which are the same elements that he celebrates and promotes in *Jamie's Great Britain*. I argue that Oliver's continuous changes of perspective mirror the various forms of capital that he tries to accumulate in the continuously changing field, as theorised by Bourdieu. The advanced capitalist venture of Oliver and his company confirms that today "there are many regions of social space where multiple forms of capital are in circulation" (Gorski 2013, p.341). I believe that Oliver and *Fresh One* struggle to accumulate many of them. To do so, he needs to occupy various positions by expressing different points of view, related to economic or cultural convenience.

In fact, the attack on British food culture took place in August 2008, about one month before the airing of his (and *Fresh One's*) *Jamie's Ministry of Food* (Oliver 2008), in which Oliver tried to revolutionise the British approach to food. Even his joke about the Germans' gassing took place in the same days, shortly before the airing of the show, when producers and presenters were striving to gain visibility. Moreover, his multicultural declaration of him being sixth-generation Sudanese occurred in August 2009, a few days before the broadcasting of his (and *Fresh One's*) *Jamie's American Road Trip* (Oliver 2009), a show that *Fresh One's* website presents as a focus on the "diverse cultures of 21st Century America" (Fresh One, no date). In struggling in the field for economic capital and many forms of cultural and culinary capitals (ethnic, patriotic, multicultural, and so on), Oliver adapts his communication and, in Bourdieu's terms, his *habitus*, to them. Therefore, according to his position in the field, he may challenge British food culture, be African, joke about other European countries, and so on.

The last point that is important to analyse about Jamie Oliver and *Fresh One* is their approach to public relations. Often, when Fresh One and its owner have to face journalists, researchers, and the public in general, their behaviour relates interestingly

to Bourdieu's theory. *Fresh One* and Oliver have been extremely upset by external and critical opinions; for example when Oliver called an Australian journalist a “bitch”, because she had asked him about his weight gain (Bagwell 2012). The problem was that Oliver was presenting the Australian edition of *Jamie's Ministry of Food*, a show based on the fight against Australians' obesity. The cultural capital of being slim was called into question, and this probably explains Oliver's reaction. Moreover, in his personal website, Oliver refuses any request from students and researchers at schools and universities (Oliver, no date). In addition, on its website *Fresh One* does not display any email address, which is fundamental for a company's public relations to improve the quality of business (Pierson and Bradley 2011). The website, instead, only displays a phone and fax number, and this has also been a source of complaints on Oliver's forum (Taznim10 2007). In response to complaints, it only displays a P.O. Box, and does not answer when an e-mail address is requested. Finally, I have already explained how the interview with the British producer failed.

I argue that these problems arise because of the intrinsic relations between the company and its owner. The producer's e-mail stating that she needed permission for the interview led me to understand that she would certainly have spoken in the name of *Fresh One*, but in this case 'in the name of *Fresh One*' also means 'in the name of Jamie Oliver'. This implies that communicating with the outside, often critical world, requires particular attention. In Bourdieu's terms, I wonder who or what struggles in the field, whether it is *Fresh One* or Oliver. Probably, only Oliver may speak in the name of *Fresh One*, because *Fresh One* is actually Oliver. However, I will come back to this issue in the chapter dedicated to the results, because it relates to other outcomes of this study.

In conclusion, this section has clarified that Channel 4 found in Jamie Oliver the perfect agent to satisfy the new, neoliberal role of the broadcaster when the broadcaster was required to rely on advertising revenues. Importantly for the brand Channel 4, Oliver's 'social' shows have guaranteed ratings without forgetting the old, alternative aims of Channel 4 and its quasi-public service content. Oliver's 'social' programmes, in fact, have been an effective way of earning economic capital without

losing the cultural capital accumulated in the past by the broadcaster. In giving Channel 4 all of this, Oliver was allowed to create a production company and to overlap many different interests and businesses, from TV to books, from restaurant chains to commercials. This has led to Oliver's overlapping roles of chef and entrepreneur, and to a concentration of power that is frequent in neoliberal societies. Finally, this has also led to Fresh One totally respecting Oliver's views also in relation to ethnicity and public relations, even when these positions are disputable. In the next section I analyse the episodes of *Jamie's Great Britain*, and also the elements relating to Oliver's conflict of interests.

Overview of the Whole Series

Jamie Oliver is one of the most popular celebrity chefs in the world. Interestingly, in all of his shows filmed in Britain before *Jamie's Great Britain*, such as *Jamie's Ministry of Food* (Oliver 2008) and *Jamie's School Dinners* (Oliver 2005a), Oliver highlighted and criticised problematic British food habits, focusing for example on the unhealthy food eaten by young students or the working class in the country. In contrast, in some programmes filmed abroad, such as *Jamie's Great Escape* (Oliver 2005b), Oliver praises other food cultures for their healthy food and focuses on approaches to eating which differ from the British approach. In 2010, his book *Jamie's 30 minute meals* sold more than one million copies, and his show *Jamie's Food Revolution* was watched by more than 7.5 million British viewers each week. Like Vissani, Oliver has strong links to the political power: he cooked for the G20 talks at 10 Downing Street, Tony Blair participated in his show *Jamie's School Dinners* (Oliver 2005a) and, finally, Oliver became a Member of the British Empire (MBE) in 2003 (Marinelli 2014; Oliver, no date). If Stringfellow et al. (2013) consider celebrity chefs in general as tastemakers, Oliver may be strongly considered as an important tastemaker just because of this popular success and these powerful links.

Jamie's Great Britain (Oliver 2011) is a food travelogue of six episodes, each of them lasting about 45 minutes and broadcast by Channel 4 from 25 October 2011 for six weeks. The show is entirely set outdoors (a studio does not exist), and pays a visit to all the three kingdoms of the island of Great Britain: England, Scotland and Wales. Being limited to the island of Great Britain, the programme does not consider Northern Ireland, the fourth component of the United Kingdom. In each episode, Oliver follows an itinerary around Great Britain, travelling in his army truck, which contains a 'wooden pub', a stone oven and a barbecue, which he often utilises. The first episode focuses on London's East End and Essex, the second on Yorkshire, the third on South Wales, the fourth on Leicester, the fifth on Bristol and the West, and the last on Scotland. In each episode, we see Oliver going around Britain in his army truck, stopping to meet chefs, food producers, fishermen, restaurateurs and other people involved in food, interviewing them on the food they deal with, and finally cooking something related to the place where he is. Oliver is frequently alone, while driving his army truck or cooking his dishes in the rear of the 'wooden pub' or outdoors.

Even though the show does not have a recurring structure, there are two visual elements that come up many times throughout the series. The first is composed of wide shots in which the army truck is only a small point in the British landscape. This landscape may be made up of countryside, trees, rivers and lakes, or, alternatively, of straight roads and high flyovers, moving along motorways that seem to cross the whole of Britain and link each part with the others. The second recurring visual element of the show is its logo, an animation in which the Union Jack becomes many different flags (from the Indian to the Italian, from the Russian, to the American, to the Israeli) that however remain within the frame of the British flag. I will further analyse the logo below in this chapter.

What strikes the viewer about *Jamie's Great Britain* is the unusual elements that feature in the programme in comparison to Oliver's other shows. As seen above, Oliver undertook a first transformation after the early more juvenile shows. After those programmes, the alliance between Oliver's company, Fresh One, and Channel 4

led either to simple recipe-shows, in which Oliver explains how to make his dishes, or to popular 'social' shows in which food is seen as a weapon to improve the world and to highlight negative food practices. In Oliver's social shows, unhealthy British food had therefore created a collective anxiety, hovering over an entire nation (Jackson et al. 2013).

Instead, in *Jamie's Great Britain*, for the first time Oliver takes British food and food culture as a positive model, while any attempt to underline class inequality and unhealthy food total disappears. If applied to Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme, the show seems like an attempt to shift toward legitimisation. After years of critiques of the British food system, which have given Oliver a great amount of economic capital, he now tries to legitimise his position by focusing on history and tradition. In this show, Britain is a land of food that is worth discovering, and Oliver embodies the chef who is fully aware of and passionate about the deep roots of the food culture of his country.

To do this, Oliver widens the concept of British food, and, apart from food rooted in Britain, also involves many foreign foods in this category. These foods are now British, for him. While in one scene, Oliver explains that the pie is a mix of many different cultures, a few minutes later he says that “there is nothing more British than a pie”. All of this refers to cosmopolitanism, one of the national ideologies that have deeply affected Britain, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 5. The next section focuses on Oliver's cosmopolitanism, and on the way in which Oliver represents it in order to create a specific form of national culinary capital.

National Culinary Capital Relating to Class and Ethnicity: Cosmopolitanism

Differently from *Ti Ci Porto Io*, which relates to class and ethnicity separately, in *Jamie's Great Britain* class and ethnicity are sometimes inseparable, because they form a unique discourse that creates distinction through food relating to cosmopolitanism. For some, cosmopolitanism “is an orientation, a willingness to engage with the other” (Hannerz 1990, p.239). Others see cosmopolitanism in a more

critical light, connecting it to an apparent openness to people coming from abroad that actually hides a willingness to dominate and to place the Other in a subjugated position (Mignolo 2000). In Chapter 5, I have demonstrated that cosmopolitanism is profoundly rooted in Britain because of colonialism and post-colonialism. In fact, Farrer (2010, p.18) finds that “pragmatic politics of urban cosmopolitanism are shaped by decades of colonial and postcolonial encounters ... colonial legacies and ... postcolonial imageries”. Cosmopolitanism presents itself as a noble ideology, aimed at smoothing out differences between peoples. However, only “romantic souls” may look at this ideology without noting that it “is based on class discrimination” (Miller 2007, p.50). I have already demonstrated in the theoretical framework that Bourdieu considers cosmopolitanism as a subjugating category (Bourdieu et al. 1994) and how, when cosmopolitanism is applied to food, the result is “culinary colonialism” (Cappeliez and Johnston 2013, p.439).

Cosmopolitanism, frequently and also in Oliver's show, is achieved through omnivorousness, the willingness to explore new culinary landscapes that leads to 'eating the Other'. Omnivorousness is “a mark of cultural capital” (Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009, p.119) that strongly affects class relations and may be “a new way of expressing distinction” (Warde et al. 2008, p.150). Moreover, in Britain it is more widespread than in other countries (Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009). Omnivorousness affects class because “omnivores might consider that, in their own particular context, cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism are socially, morally and politically more acceptable and thus intrinsically a source of status or a means of garnering social capital” (Warde et al. 2008, p.150). However, class, in this sense, is not necessarily synonymous with wealth and status. As Bourdieu writes, sometimes status may even be accessed by people of inferior levels. In this case, the taste of omnivorousness may have been learnt at school or as a cultural exchange with peers or friends. As Bourdieu underlines, this proximity is often produced by similar status (e.g. rich children going to the same school), but this does not always happen and not in each case. For example, a lower-class student going to a middle-class school may have learnt cosmopolitanism from his or her peers.

In *Jamie's Great Britain*, Oliver continuously repeats that ethnic food is at the base of British food. He shows, cooks and eats innumerable items of ethnic food, and finds them delicious to the point that, a couple of times, he says that if a foreign food is good, it may now be considered British (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.01.30; episode 6, 00.01.02). Britain, in the show, is a sort of outdoor ethnic supermarket and Oliver continually recommends buying, preparing and eating ethnic food. In doing so, as a tastemaker, he is legitimising a precise taste, the taste of ethnic food, and is creating a double distinction. First, he distinguishes the Self, that is, the British, from the Other, those who come from abroad and provide the British with their foods. Second, he also creates distinction relating to class, and this is evident when he visits the East End of London.

Creating Distinction in the East-End

Before focusing on the scene shot in the East End of London, I must explain what the East End actually represents in Britain. This area of London “can be understood to function as a product of the formation and rise of a distinctly English bourgeois self-image” (Newland 2008, p.20). Once a place synonymous with the working class, the East End became a middle-class area in which, interestingly, the working class did not disappear, but remained as 'the Other' (Newland 2008) in the media representation of everyday life. Thus, “the grotesque 'low-Other' can be seen to play a defining role in the construction of ... the dominant middle class in England” (Newland 2008, p.20). The “self” is represented by a “middle-class self-image” (Newland 2008, p.23), while the Other embodies the dominated working class. Not by chance, in the East End, Oliver cooks oysters. Even though he moans that once they were cheap, certainly this type of food strongly separates those who can, from those who cannot afford it.

The scene in the East End of London lasts about one third of the first episode (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.02.37-00.13.59). It begins by representing the working class (the Other) of both the past and the present. On the past, Oliver plays a kind of running

commentary while pretending to be in the East End during the Industrial Revolution (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.03.04). His voice describes a land of gambling and gangs, because the dominant class has always constructed the East End as the place of transgression and outlaws (Newland 2008). Here there were strange, different people, and I will show you them, Oliver seems to say. Moreover, the working class of the past is also represented in the old pub, The Ten Bells, visited by Oliver (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.07.28), and in the old black and white photos that the owner shows the chef. When referring to the present, the programme shows the streets of the East End crowded with food and people coming from every corner of the world. Both people and food are pigeonholed in their Otherness, people with their colourful clothes, and foods with their characteristic shapes and names. It is a cosmopolitan scenario of different colours and races, in which the tastemaker Oliver may construct his cosmopolitan culinary capital, by showing the viewer all of these ethnic foods and people. Cosmopolitanism in fact “involves the cultivating of 'globalised cultural capital' as a form of lifestyle shopping” (Bell and Valentine 1997, p.135-136).

Oliver starts his tour of the ethnic market by meeting two Vietnamese girls (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.04.24) preparing what Oliver calls “Vietnamese sandwiches”. After only a few minutes, Oliver makes a sexual joke with one of the two girls (“Baby, give me your chilli”, episode 1, 00.05.27), and this confirms Oliver's tendency to ridicule the Other, as in the cases previously mentioned. It is widely acknowledged that sexual jokes serve to humiliate the receiver and establish power (Alvesson and Billing 1997) and hierarchy (Collinson 2002) in favour of the sender. While chatting with the girls, Oliver shows his cultural and culinary capital by telling the story of how in the twentieth century, Britain welcomed the Vietnamese escaping from the war in their country, and of how Vietnamese food was loved by British people. Thus, even after the Industrial Revolution, Britain continued to welcome other peoples, and this historical process has shaped British food culture, Oliver says. Finally, at the end of the scene, Oliver calls over an elderly woman (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.06.14) and gives her one of the Vietnamese sandwiches, which she appreciates.

In a few minutes, Oliver represents the British as a fair people that helped the Vietnamese escaping the war. For Mignolo (2000), the British use cosmopolitanism as a weapon. They first softly enter other cultures, and second appropriate them. The show just explains the first part of the process theorised by Mignolo, the British soft entering of the Vietnamese culture. Instead, it keeps silent on the second part, the appropriation, and does not explain that since the Industrial Revolution the British have exploited other peoples, the Vietnamese included. Hiding this exploitation under the noble aims of cosmopolitanism is a clear example of “eating the Other” (Bell and Valentine 1997, p.19). This is also what happens to the Vietnamese girls on the show, stereotyped in their Otherness in a sort of outdoor ethnic supermarket where the English dominant class can buy (and watch) what they fancy. This scene reminds us that only “romantic souls” (Miller 2007, p.50) may not see the spirit of appropriation that cosmopolitanism hides. With this scene, the Vietnamese hamburger is legitimised by Oliver, and is at the disposal of the omnivorous dominant class. They can accumulate this cosmopolitan food and the relative national culinary capital, which thus can be referred to as 'cosmopolitan'.

The person who immediately acquires this form of culinary capital is the elderly English woman that Oliver involves at the end of the scene. When she tastes the Vietnamese sandwich, she likes it. Even though the girls cannot understand her 'old' English, she has become cosmopolitan in front of the camera and has experienced “the excitement of 'eating the Other’” (Bell and Valentine 1997, p.19). Moreover, by involving the elderly lady, the show wants to demonstrate that culinary capital may be transferable; that it may shift from one acknowledged tastemaker (Oliver) to the 'man' on the street (the elderly woman) really easily. Thus, by watching this scene the members of the audience may think that even they, from the comfort of their own homes, may acquire culinary capital; an idea that Naccarato and LeBesco consider illusory (LeBesco and Naccarato 2008a; Naccarato and LeBesco 2012).

A Cosmopolitan Celebrity Chef

The long scene in the East End exemplifies Oliver's approach to cosmopolitanism and contains many elements that are characteristic of British culinary capital: the class and the ethnic issue, the historical link to national ideologies, the transfer of capital to another person, and the link to British omnivorousness. In other scenes on the show we find these same elements but never all in the same scene; this makes the scene in the East End truly important. Among the various scenes that represent cosmopolitan culinary capital, I highlight Oliver's visits to the trendy chef preparing hamburgers in London, and the two meetings with the Italians and the Yemenis in Wales. The hamburger scene mostly refers to class, the other two to ethnicity.

In the first case, Oliver tells the multiethnic history of the hamburger (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.17.04), a mix of Russian, Israeli, German and other influences, and introduces the chef that, in a van in London, prepares hamburgers for trendy Londoners that consume them on the street. The represented Londoners are all young, white, elegant and good looking. They joke, wince and chat to each other. Again, as pointed out by Naccarato and LeBesco (2012), consuming food means reinforcing the membership within a group and distinction from other groups. In fact, eating the hamburger in that street certainly helps them distinguish themselves from the others in their everyday lives. Interestingly, this distinction may also help them accumulate other forms of capital, for example the economic one (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In that exclusive place they may network and make useful contacts for their jobs. In this way, the dominant class offer opportunity exclusively to themselves, and increase their power over the dominated, that are excluded from this kind of social opportunity.

In the cases of the Italian family and the Yemeni women, instead, the difference regards ethnicity. In the scenes of the Tambinis (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.04.40), Oliver again finds the roots of British cosmopolitanism in the past. He replaces the English Industrial Revolution with the Welsh Coal Boom as the moment when Welsh cosmopolitanism was born, thanks to the arrival of miners from abroad. The Tambinis were initially miners, and nowadays they live in a nice, comfortable

detached house where we see them all smiling and sitting around the table, while mamma Tambini cooks in the kitchen. As in the case of the Vietnamese that found refuge in Britain from the war, the show underlines that also the Italians found a nice place in Britain where they could move up the social ladder. Cosmopolitanism increases in the scene of the Yemeni women (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.27.41). Oliver visits a local project that aims to teach the second generation of Yemeni women how not to lose Yemeni food traditions. None of these women, in the show, want to learn how to cook a dish from other countries, and as in the case of the Vietnamese girls, the show represents the Other as one that cannot escape from their own traditions. Even if someone wanted to, there is someone else that teaches them to remain within the traditional boundaries. Moreover, the Yemeni women are presented as people who have made Wales their new home, because Wales is full of the same basic staple of Yemeni cuisine, lamb. Finally, the scene ends with the Islamic symbol of the crescent moon, to underline that the Yemeni in Britain are also allowed to maintain their religious traditions, not only the culinary ones.

The show underlines the benefits that other peoples have received from staying in Britain, but in the end represents them as stuck in their Otherness, with no hope of escaping this condition. This happens because cosmopolitans necessarily need the Other. In fact, “one person’s cosmopolitanism depends on the constitution of someone else as local” (Bell and Hollows 2007, p.30). The show splits people into two groups, those who are cosmopolitans and those who are 'eaten', those who are curious and those destined to satisfy this curiosity. In all the analysed episodes, people coming from abroad are never represented as 'curious' of other food cultures and other foods. The Italian family only eats Italian food, the Vietnamese girls only prepare Vietnamese food, and the same happens to the Yemeni women and to all the ethnic people represented in these episodes. Each of them is there only to provide the Anglo Saxons (dominant-class, white, British, better if Londoners) with their good, amazing, delicious, surprising foods. They cannot have curiosities, while the Anglo Saxons may break cultures and boundaries and enjoy the widest range of food they can, and satisfy their omnivorous taste.

As already reported in my theoretical framework, Naccarato and LeBesco point out that culinary capital may be accumulated in two different ways, following either “the elitist choice of local food” (2012, p.8) or omnivorousness. The first option is *Ti Ci Porto Io*'s representation of sacred culinary capital, while the second is Oliver's cosmopolitanism, where “the greatest variety of tastes and who are open to the broadest range of experiences emerge as the most culturally capitalized” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.9). This is perfectly exemplified in episode 6, when Oliver referring to the many kinds of food available in Britain, says: 'If it's good, is ours' (Oliver 2011, 00.01.02).

Therefore, Catholicism in Italy and neocolonialism in Britain are ideologies that have strongly affected the two nations and even the fields of food TV in the two countries respectively, as I demonstrated in Chapter 5. I argue that in each show they have supported the formation of the two sorts of national culinary capital, the sacred and the cosmopolitan. However, cosmopolitanism in *Jamie's Great Britain* is put forward not only by particular scenes, but also by elements that span the entire series, such as the logo of the show.

The Logo

The sense of appropriation of Oliver's cosmopolitanism is visualised by the logo of *Jamie's Great Britain*. In it, thanks to an animation, the British flag becomes a new flag composed of the flags of many states within the frame of the Union Jack. To fully understand what all of this means, I must investigate the concepts of the logo and of the flag, in particular the Union Jack.



Figure 12: The beginning and the end of the logo's animation

First:

The logo is a sign which is commonly used to represent different entities such as organizations (e.g., The Red Cross), companies (e.g., Renault, Danone, Air France), brands (e.g., Kit Kat), countries (e.g., Spain), etc. ... It has not only a representative function but also a pragmatic function linked to its commercial value, ... in terms of recognition, awareness, liking, etc. Its status, that of a sign, is thus multifunctional and can be ambiguous. (Heilbrunn 1997, p.175)

In considering Peirce's categories of index, icon and symbol, certainly a "logo acts as an index of the company but also the products and services it provides" (Heilbrunn 1997, p.180). In this case, the logo relates to Oliver's programme, and its repeated representation during the episode continually reinforces the programme's identity. In fact, this indexical function connects the logo "with the organization's identity ... An organization's identity is its sense of self, being thus formed by its history, its beliefs and philosophy, its ethical and cultural values" (Heilbrunn 1997, p.181). One of the most important cultural values of the show is certainly the cosmopolitan approach to the Other that Oliver continuously underlines, and the logo, with its flags, perfectly mirrors this view.

Second, the flag, as seen in my theoretical framework, is one of the most powerful national symbols. Moreover, putting various flags close to each other has often meant, for example in the opening ceremony of the Olympic games, that the represented countries are at peace (De Kleer 2007). However, "when different flags are flown side by side, it is a way of signalling solidarity or 'brotherhood', not integration" (Hylland Eriksen and Jenkins 2007, p.174). In fact, Oliver never mixes the different food traditions but, as seen above, underlines their Otherness. As said, the Other must remain the Other, in order to provide Oliver (and Britain) with diverse tastes.

Third, "the Union Jack brings together the flags of the country's kingdoms" (Donaldson 2011, p.44). In some sense, the idea of a flag composed of different flags is already present in British national identity and thus the logo of the show follows an already existing trend. However:

There have been suggestions from ethnic minorities to include some thin black stripes in the ... [Union Jack], to remind the citizens of the living legacy of colonialism. The Union Jack is already an amalgam of three pre-existing flags, the crosses of St George (England), St Andrew (Scotland) and St Patrick (Ireland); the argument is that a fourth “cross” might be added, for the sake of contemporary relevance. (Hylland Eriksen and Jenkins 2007, p.6)

The two suggested solutions are different, because the ethnic groups just want to insert a stripe, while Oliver's logo is a combination of different flags, also belonging to Western countries. While the first wants to underline the Other's participation in Britain-building, Oliver's solution has to do with the British sense of appropriation of the Other and of the Other's things, even food, hidden under the noble aims of cosmopolitanism. What Oliver supports is the ideology that Atkins and Bowler term as “eating the other”, as reported above. For them:

... eating “the other” is ... not an “innocent” activity. It has economic, social and cultural implication to add to the political echoes from the past. British colonies for centuries supplied sugar bananas and other exotic produce to the metropolitan country ... One interpretation of ethnic restaurants is that they are a reproduction of colonial-style cultural hierarchies. (Atkins and Bowler 2001, p.285)

Finally, as suggested by Bourdieu, dominant classes decide what to include and what to exclude, the good and the bad taste. Related to this, Oliver's show does not represent all the ethnicities. While Asian and European cuisines are continually represented, African chefs are not considered as 'legitimate', and are not in the analysed episodes. In doing so, Oliver's show perfectly mirrors the illegitimate taste of African cuisine in the field of Western food TV, which Naccarato and LeBesco underline as an American element but that I have also found in Chapter 5 as a British characteristic.

In conclusion, this section has analysed the first form of national culinary capital represented on *Jamie's Great Britain*, the cosmopolitan. Throughout the series,

Oliver represents British food as composed of many ethnic dishes that immigrants provide for British omnivores, people ever looking forward to experiencing new foods. In Chapter 5, I have demonstrated that cosmopolitanism is one of the dominant British ideologies, and here I analyse how cosmopolitanism and omnivorousness on the show also hide neocolonialism and the willingness to 'eat the Other'. The show divides its participants into two groups. They are either British, white, dominant-class and curious of other cuisines, or they come from abroad, are only expert in their own foods and are never curious about other dishes. In this way, the show intrinsically links class and ethnic issues. Finally, even the pervading and repeatedly present element of the programme's logo supports this ideology. I argue that all of this strongly refers to the role of meta-tastemaker hegemonically played by the state. The show repeatedly represents national ideologies and food related to them. In the conclusions, I better explain how this hegemonic pressure occurs, while here it is sufficient to say that the cosmopolitanism represented by Oliver perfectly mirrors that found in Chapter 5 and involving the whole of the constructed British food culture. From the East End of London to the logo, to the absence of black African chefs, the show totally weds the perspective constructed in Britain. However, the show also shapes a different kind of food linked to other ideologies. The following section focuses on how Oliver's programme creates another form of national culinary capital, linking to the local, masculinity and British landscape, and producing gender distinction.

'Rough' Culinary Capital and Gender Distinction

Cosmopolitan culinary capital is not the only form of national culinary capital created on *Jamie's Great Britain*. In following Naccarato and LeBesco's (2012) division of culinary capital into the omnivorous and local, I argue that Oliver's show also represents another form of national culinary capital relating to the local, and more precisely to the British landscape, local food and masculinity. I term it 'rough' culinary capital, because of its components, which I explain below.

I have already demonstrated in Chapter 5 that the British landscape is a powerful national symbol in Britain, and that it relates to naturalness (Edensor 2002). Britain “formed what ought to be a unified political body” (Olwig 2008, p.84) because it is an island. Presenting Britain as a natural product helps the British think of themselves as a nation. Therefore, the British landscape boosts “the idea that Britain had naturally developed through stages to its present stage of unity and civilization” (Olwig 2008, p.84), and for this reason the food grown in it is a powerful source of national culinary capital.

Again in Chapter 5, I have seen that in the field of British food TV, rough culinary capital is not a novelty, but a recurrent characteristic of many male celebrity chefs. Even *Jamie's Great Britain* represents the British landscape, and mixes it with an overtly masculine representation of Oliver. Bourdieu (2001) has pointed out that men relate to external elements and performing actions, while women refer to internal environments and domestic labour. The “idea that the kitchen is a realm for females, not males pervades popular cooking literature” (Inness 2001, p.13). Men perceive this space as somehow dangerous (Inness 2001). If the kitchen threatens masculinity, the man needs another place, possibly opposite, to express himself, and this place is outdoors (James Beard cited in Inness 2001, p.27). “The connection between men and outdoor cooking established a cooking hierarchy. Men were expected to perform the 'important' special cooking associated with grilling food outdoors” (Inness 2001, p.28). All of this has a precise aim, the same as spicy and alcoholic food: “cooking out distanced men from the kitchen and its association with women” (Inness 2001, p.28).

If the show finds the origins of cosmopolitan food in the nineteenth century of the English Industrial Revolution and the Welsh Coal Boom, it positions the beginning of rough food earlier, in an archaic Britain, as I demonstrate below in the case of Scotland. In the end, to revive a remote era and its food, and to represent rough culinary capital, Oliver undergoes a process of over-masculinisation by playing three precise roles: the soldier, the hunter and the chef cooking meat.

The Soldier, the Hunter and the Chef Cooking Meat

Oliver plays the role of the soldier first of all by driving his army truck. There are many versions of what the van in which Oliver goes through Britain really is. On the show, Oliver considers it as a wooden pub and refers to it as “the cock in cider” or the “British army truck”. TV critics call it an army truck (Brian 2011), or a mobile pub (Kelly 2011). The company that was responsible for the restoration, on its website, declares that it is an army truck transformed into “a pub on wheels with seating for twelve people ... a wood burning pizza oven and ... an atmosphere inside to be just like an old pub” (Fullbridge 2013). The vehicle, however, encourages interpretations, and during a conference at Northumbria University where I presented this part of my research, Professor Paul Ward, from the University of Huddersfield, told me that for him the army truck resembles the wagons of Western films. It is very interesting to note how all the elements and concepts revolving around this vehicle are deeply masculine. The army truck, the pub, the Western film wagons, and, especially, the double *entendre* of its name, are signs that clearly refer to men. Moreover, even the stone oven and the barbecue inside it refer to roasting, which is the most masculine form of cooking, as I have reported in my literature review quoting Lévi-Strauss's triangle (1966).



Figure 13: The army truck in the British countryside

As said at the beginning of this chapter, sometimes the show films the army truck as a small point travelling through the British landscape. The smallness of the army

truck and the hugeness of the British landscape reinforce the concept of the centrality of the nation. In these scenes, Britain and its food are the real main characters. By driving an army truck through these 'bleeding' landscapes (Edensor 2002), I argue that Oliver plays the role of the male soldier. This masculine, military role is what the show suggests among the “paths to good citizenship” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.41) that TV shows represent in order to create culinary capital.

The military code, however, pervades the whole series and not only involves the army truck, but also involves first the British flag (in the logo and stuck on one side of the army truck); second the RAF wings that Oliver places on the top of a pie that he prepares and dedicates to Prince William and Kate Middleton, who were still engaged at that time (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.21.12); and third, the dragon of the Welsh flag that Oliver shows and that gives its name to the Dragon Arctic Roll that he prepares in Wales (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.20.51). All of these elements reinforce Oliver's male role as a soldier. His overt masculinity, however, still grows when he becomes a hunter.

The second role interpreted by Oliver relating to this second form of culinary capital is the hunter. In episode 6, Oliver participates in a hunt (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.34.17), and even though he never shoots, he helps hunters drive animals out (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.35.00). As with being a soldier, even hunting is decidedly a male activity (Jay 1992). One of the main characteristics of this scene is the crude way that it often shows corpses of animals, to the point that You Tube classifies this video as “strongly violent or disturbing” (You Tube 2013). Similarly, Channel 4's website warns that the video includes “bird shooting and a bit of animal butchery” and, before uploading, viewers must declare that they are older than 16, because the video “isn't suitable for younger viewers” (Channel 4, no date). The two websites, instead, do not say anything for the other episodes of the series. Moreover, it is interesting to see the presence of women among the hunters. This does not diminish the masculinity of the event. In fact, female soldiers have not decreased the level of masculinity in modern armies:

The de-gendering of war does not mean that “masculinity” will cease to be a desirable attribute, only that it will be an attribute that women as well as men can possess ... The division of humanity into “masculine” and “feminine” may persist, but these categories may have less and less to do with the biological sexes (Ehrenreich 2011, p.230).

Women participating in the hunt, thus, do not change the masculine character of killing animals or of showing their corpses crudely, as in the case of Goddess Diana, the huntress for excellence.

Finally, mostly in Scotland, Oliver also cooks meat, such as game after the hunt (episode 6, 00.38.14), haggis in the oldest restaurant in Glasgow (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.03.36) and other meat throughout the show (episode 6, 00.38.14). He frequently does this by dealing with the whole animal and with the animal origins of meat, which are the focus of one of my articles (Buscemi 2014a). The animal origins of meat are parts of the animal, such as legs and head, that remind the eater that meat was once an animal. Oliver cooks them, for example, in the preparation of the haggis, which Oliver defines as similar to an autopsy (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.04.34). In the scene of the hunt, moreover, he handles the animal corpses and the programme shows this in detail. It is in these scenes that Oliver embodies the chef cooking meat. Like the soldier, the chef cooking meat has always been constructed as a masculine role. Inness points out that the male cook “should also be the chef when wild game needs to be prepared” (2001, p.19). Additionally, male chefs are in charge when it comes to cooking animals, while female cooks are expected to assist in secondary roles (Fiddes 1991).

The soldier, the hunter and the chef cooking meat are indissolubly linked to each other by the concept of 'touching death'. Marvin and Ingle report the words of a Vietnam veteran, according to whom “boys become men by touching death” (1999, p.74), the implication being that those who avoid the war remain children. What is more, cooking and eating meat create distinction between the dominant man and the dominated woman. Adams links the disappearance of the animal origins of meat with woman’s subjection. She points out that:

Behind every meal of meat is an absence: the death of the animal whose place the meat takes ... Meat becomes unanchored by its original referent (the animal), becoming instead a free-floating image, used often to reflect women's status as well as animals'. Animals are the absent referent in the act of meat eating; they also become the absent referent in images of women butchered, fragmented, or consumable. (Adams 2010, p.13)

However, to fully understand what this culinary capital is like, we must analyse Oliver's habitus, which is his 'rough' style of cooking.

Rough British Culinary Capital

Inness finds that one of the main characteristics of male cooking, even at home, is to prepare food that is “highly spiced”, “hearty” and “with alcohol” (2001, pp.24-5). Spicy and alcoholic foods, in this sense, have a specific mission. They avoid the danger of men “being considered sissies” (2001, p.26). Thus, not only swearwords and sexual jokes on the army truck, but also cooking spicy and alcoholic dishes may help avoid this risk, which is the nightmare of every man and specifically soldiers (Goldstein 2001).

The overtly masculine Jamie Oliver often prepares 'male' food in the scenes relating to local food and the British landscape. In the first episode, he encourages the Vietnamese girls to put chilli in his sandwich (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.05.27); later, he adds vodka to the oyster dressing (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.09.30) while saying “I'm not a virgin anymore”, and in doing so he again underlines his role of a 'real man'; when he goes to the mash and pie shop (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.15.02) he prefers chilli to vinegar, and proudly takes a bottle of chilli saying “I love that”; he adds beer to the military and 'RAF winged' Will and Kate's pie (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.21.12), puts abundant black pepper on the sole (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.33.40), and even adds white wine to the sea bass that he barbecues along with his parents and nan (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.39.38). In episode 3, he adds “plenty, plenty plenty of pepper” (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.11.10) to the bolognese. In

episode 6, he adds whiskey to MacMoule marinere (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.22.12) and to the Ecclefechan tart (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.29.42 and 00.33.33).

Apart from the ingredients, in the scenes relating to this second form of national culinary capital, Oliver adopts another two strategies to underline his masculinity. The first strategy is never cooking in a kitchen, apart from when he helps women (mamma Tambini and the Yemeni women). Among the various places, in episode 1 Oliver cooks oysters on a boat (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.09.30), a pie (00.21.12) and a sole (00.33.40) in his mobile and ultra-male pub-army truck, and barbecued fish (00.39.01) on the beach. In the third episode, he cooks bolognese in his army truck (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.09.20), pasta (00.15.00) and lamb (00.36.00) in the Welsh countryside, and lamb and lobster on a beach (00.38.54). In the sixth episode, he cooks seared scallops on a boat (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.07.02), Scottish potato scone in his army truck (00.12.36), MacMoule marinere by the lake (00.20.42), Ecclefechan tart (00.29.42) and seared venison loin (00.38.14) in his mobile kitchen.

The second strategy that Oliver adopts to distinguish himself from women is a certain roughness that he displays while cooking. During the episodes, Oliver sometimes acts with a tough behaviour that certainly is part of his “why-use-a-pestle-when-you-can-use-a-hammer style of cooking” (Hooton 2011); for example, in his replacing the forgotten lid with a newspaper (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.35.20). This is obviously a scene constructed by the programme, and confirms that it aims to show the replacing of a lid with a newspaper as a part of Oliver's cooking. The act is certainly rough and hygienically disputable, but has deep roots in the period when British food culture radically changed. Newspapers, in fact, were already used to wrap fish and chips in the nineteenth century, and this caused controversy (Walton 1992). There are other cases, however, in which the chef shows very definite non-refined manners; for example when he uses his hands to feel the meat of the pie (Oliver, 2011, episode 1, 00.24.02) and the cockles (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.35.50), or when he cleans his ear with his finger and then goes on cooking (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.10.12). In episode 3, he stains his trousers while making pasta

(Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.15.35), arguing that his mistake is not very professional and not 'cheffy'. As said, all of this serves the purpose of underlining the masculine nature of this second form of national culinary capital.

Thus, through the rough manners and the food of the British landscape, *Jamie's Great Britain* underlines the unity of Britain, even in its diversity. In legitimising British, rough food, the tastemaker Oliver reminds us of the masculine exclusivity of cooking outside. Interestingly, while cosmopolitan culinary capital directly refers to the British state and its will to 'eat the Other', rough culinary capital mostly relates to the media. In fact, although it relates to a national ideology, which is national unity, it is a recurrent characteristic of a media product, i.e. the male celebrity chef. Thus, while cosmopolitan culinary capital may be considered as a construction mostly affected by the meta-field of the state, rough culinary capital is mostly linkable to the meta field of the media. Thus, at least in Britain, by representing masculine chefs and national landscape, the media are demonstrated to be a meta field, and to have the same powerful role as the meta field of the state, as theorised by Couldry (2003). However, if this culinary capital is masculine and creates distinction from women, to fully understand the terms of this distinction, I must also analyse the element that is distanced, the woman.

Oliver and Women

In the show, many women cook, and they are either British or foreign. The foreign women who cook are, among the others, the Vietnamese girls, the Italian mamma at Villa Tambini and the Yemeni women. Similar to men coming from abroad, they are not interested in other cuisines, and are not curious of the food which differs from the food they cook. Only the Vietnamese girls are interested in French cuisine, but only because it affected Vietnamese dishes in the past. As seen in the section above, in the cosmopolitan representation that the Self makes of the Other, the Other must remain the Other, because in their Otherness there is the key of the reiteration of cosmopolitanism and omnivorousness. Furthermore, these women are never involved

in the scenes relating to rough culinary capital either. In conclusion, they are banned from both forms of national culinary capital represented: the cosmopolitan and the rough.

As said, even British women cook in *Jamie's Great Britain*. This is the case of the pie maker in the first episode (Oliver 2011, episode 1, 00.15.02), of the Welsh woman in the third one (Oliver 2011, episode 3, 00.03.40), and of the Scottish women in the sixth (Oliver 2011, episode 6, 00.25.50). The pie maker continues the tradition of the pie, an old dish that has held great importance in Britain, another British dish that comes from other traditions and that Britain appropriated. However, this tradition is becoming redundant, and the woman and her daughter are closing down the shop, because, as the daughter says, things go on and we cannot remain anchored to the past. Even the Welsh woman cooks a traditional dish; the Welsh breakfast that was really useful to the miners of the Coal Boom for its nutritional value. Thus, these women are not at all interested in cooking new tastes, in the national ideology of cosmopolitanism. Moreover, they are never involved as cooks in the scenes referring to the rough culinary capital, like the women coming from abroad.

In conclusion, in *Jamie's Great Britain*, women as cooks are excluded from any form of national culinary capital; they are only allowed to cook traditional dishes from the past that do not create distinction. They are not interested in cooking dishes coming from other cuisines, and they are not involved in the rough cuisine linked to the landscape. In fact they never cook outside and, even when they cook in a home kitchen, they never adopt the rough strategies utilised by Oliver. All of this regards the woman cooking, because as consumers, women may accumulate both forms of capital. In fact the woman may be an omnivorous consumer; for example she can enjoy the London hamburger among the trendy people represented in the streets of the city; and they may even eat the food cooked by Oliver outdoors. What the woman is banned from is thus the creation of nation culinary capital and, in other words, being a tastemaker. As seen above, it is the tastemaker, or the chef, that accumulates much more culinary capital than the consumers. This makes the woman less capable

of accumulating national culinary capital, and this situates her in a less dominant position compared to the man.

An Englishman in Scotland

I have already discussed in Chapter 5 the complex system that gathers four different political entities, England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, in the state of the United Kingdom. In Scotland, the feeling of being different and willingness to be independent have never disappeared. Giordano and Roller define these entities as 'subnational' (2002, p.101) and argue that many international institutions are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of these local claims. Engel defines political entities such as Scotland or Catalonia as 'subnations', and finds that 'the EU is increasingly becoming a forum by which subnations gain greater autonomy from the central state' (2007, p.400). All of these definitions stress the concept of the nation as a *staatsnation*, according to Meinecke (1970), as already seen in Chapter 2. Instead, if we consider a nation as a *Kulturnation*, that is, as a whole of people sharing the same culture and willingness to be independent, we might draw on Davidson et al. (2010), and define Scotland as a 'stateless nation'; that is, a community unified by a shared, national culture which, however, is not a state.

From this second perspective, it may be interesting to look at Guibernau (2007), who points out that 36 per cent of Scots identify themselves as just Scottish, therefore considering the English as 'the Other'; whilst 17.7 per cent of the English have the same perception of the Scots. Moreover, only 3 per cent of Scots feel more British than Scottish, and 4 per cent of Scots consider themselves as fully British. In the last few years, however, a part of the Scots have requested a referendum to obtain complete independence from Britain, and this referendum will occur in 2014. 'Independence' is thus a hot issue, in Scotland today, and it contrasts with the undoubted English hegemony in British national culture (Fowler 1997).

In episode 6, Jamie Oliver goes to in Scotland. In considering that Jamie Oliver is English, it is interesting to analyse, in the light of what has been written above, how

he represents Scotland as different from the rest of the country but indissolubly bound to the UK.

A few seconds into the episode, Oliver states that Scottish people “are proud of their independent traditions” (00.02.23), citing the tricky word 'independence' but referring it to 'traditions', that is, to the past. From this moment onwards, the show considers Scotland as a really different place from England and Wales. Throughout the episode, in turn, first the Englishman Oliver goes to the oldest restaurant in Glasgow (00.03.36), where he prepares the Scottish food par excellence, the haggis, with Indian spices; the show visualises details of the techniques of pulling the inner organs out of the veil, and Oliver finds the preparation a sort of autopsy, concluding that the haggis is an ancestral dish created by the Vikings. Second, he goes to the River Clyde, a geographical Scottish symbol, to meet a fisherman (00.07.02), and go fishing with him; at the end of the scene, Oliver drives his army truck along what he calls “the Viking super-highway” (00.16.26), the road open by the Vikings, that were able to “exploit Scottish produce”, regardless of the “harsh life”. Third, he meets a man that lives alone by the lake and smokes herring as his ancestors have made since the mid-1700 (00.17.04). The man perfectly embodies the Scottish ‘wild charismatic men’ cited in *Scotch Reels* and reported by Edensor as a symbol of Scotland (Edensor 2002). Furthermore, herring are one of the kinds of food that are actually “border guards” able to “separate members of a given nation from others” (Tolz and Booth 2005, p.3); they symbolise the success of the Scottish in the world, even over England, which “never developed a herring fishery quite the size of the Scottish” (Poulsen 2009, p.57). At the end of the scene, Oliver suggests that even the technique of smoking herring was created by the Vikings. Fourth, Oliver goes to hunt (00.34.17), and the show also represents this with totally different images from the rest of the series, displaying corpses of animals, dead game hanging in a room, and a final party in which hunters celebrate their catch.

It is clear that *Jamie's Great Britain* represents Scotland as a land different from England and Wales. In the other episodes, the Industrial Revolution and the Coal Boom serve the purpose of finding a precise historical starting point of English and

Welsh food culture, which Oliver identifies in the nineteenth century because of the arrival of many immigrants. Here, instead, Oliver represents Scotland as a pre-modern country, in which food culture originates with the Vikings, and it is this ancestral character that forms culinary capital. Even the frequent presence of the animal origins of meat tends to represent Scotland as an ancestral land. In Buscemi (2014a) I demonstrated how modernity and postmodernity testify to the detachment between meat and the living animal. In Oliver's Scotland, this does not happen, and this underlines the Scottish ancestral character. While the British landscape in England and Wales is 'natural' but never related to the ancestral past, in Scotland, Oliver continually mention the Vikings as the past inhabitants of that territory, and even when he searches for more modern Scotland roots, he never go beyond the 1700s of the family smoking fish.

Interestingly, Scotland relates to both the forms of culinary capital already found in Britain, the cosmopolitan and the rough. In fact, first the food of the Vikings is *cosmopolitanised* in the oldest restaurant in Glasgow with an 'Indian touch', while the restaurant is depicted as full of middle-class "food adventurers" (Heldke 2003) anxious for tasting it. Importantly, we never see their faces, but only their forks and knives working on the plates, because they are represented as a class, and any individuality is not important for the show. What matters instead is their omnivorousness. Second, the smoked fish and the game relate to the local, masculine and rough culinary capital. Eating that food reinforces the identity of a group (the hunters, the men, people who can afford a party in a lavish real estate) and the exclusion of other groups (the animal rights advocates, the women, the poor).

However, I argue that the show never creates distinction between the Scottish and the non-Scottish (the English or the Welsh). In fact, Oliver identifies Scotland's origins with the Vikings. Vikings created smoked fish, haggis and the 'Viking super-highway' to explore the land and exploit Scottish produce. Thus, Vikings represent the real origins of Scotland, and are certainly primordial in the construction of Scotland. However, Vikings invaded England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland (and many other countries) from the 790s on (Wise 1979) and "the Viking kingdom(s) in Britain gave

way to the newly founded kingdoms of Scotland, Wales, and England” (Hughes 2007, p.284).

Thus, Vikings are not primordial to the nation of Scotland, but to that of the United Kingdom; a sort of common past of the various kingdoms that would later form today's state. For the same reason, at the end of the hunt Oliver says that England, Scotland and Wales “as a whole” have the best game and wild food, not just Scotland. Again, Oliver finds common origins among the three different countries, and never challenges the idea of the UK “as a whole”. Thus, Scotland is only represented as a part of the nation, a kind of ancestral room of the big house of Britain. In conclusion, when looking outside in order to 'eat the Other', the cosmopolitan nation must be sure that its original boundaries are safe. Rough culinary capital may also have this aim. To sum up, Scotland is not given the independence to create a Scottish culinary capital. It participates in, elaborates, and adds elements to both the already represented cosmopolitan and British rough culinary capital.

In this section I have analysed the second form of national culinary capital represented by *Jamie's Great Britain*, which I have termed rough culinary capital. It is based on the British landscape, local food, roughness and masculinity. In the scenes in which Oliver represents this form of national culinary capital, he is overtly masculinised by playing the masculine roles of the soldier, the hunter and the chef cooking meat and dealing with its animal origins. All of this distances Oliver and the other male chefs preparing these dishes from women, who are never involved in this kind of cuisine. By accumulating and representing this form of culinary capital, Oliver underlines male supremacy in cooking outside. In relation to the British landscape, the ideology that the show supports is not a national one, such as cosmopolitanism. Rather, rough culinary capital reminds the viewer of the unity of the UK by supporting the masculine ideology of the male celebrity chef, who cooks rough, spicy, masculine food. Contrastingly, the woman is only allowed to consume this food, never to prepare or to judge it as a tastemaker, as instead Oliver does. In the last section, I sum up the most important issues analysed in this chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have focused on *Jamie's Great Britain*. In the first section, I have analysed the political economy and field analysis of the broadcaster Channel 4, and of the production company Fresh One. Results show that Oliver joined Channel 4 only when the broadcaster was trying to become more popular, without giving up its role of innovative TV. Oliver's social programmes became the perfect products to achieve both ratings and recognised content, in Bourdieu's terms economic and cultural capital. Also thanks to Oliver, Channel 4 has been able to struggle in the field even in the neoliberal age. However, to do so, it allowed Oliver to produce his shows without interference, an independent position that Oliver had not been given when working for the BBC. Thus, Oliver created Fresh One, with the 'hidden' contribution from Freemantle, a multinational production company, and through Fresh One and his TV shows, he has promoted its economic activity. Thus, this research has shown the neoliberal twine between a broadcaster in search of a more popular role, and a celebrity chef willing to impose his dominant presence in the fields of food TV and the food business in general, through the idea that food can be a social weapon. This circumstance may be clarified by Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) model, which highlights the moving of Channel 4 towards popularity, and that of Oliver towards a more responsible position after his huge success on the BBC.

In the second part, I have analysed the sampled episodes of *Jamie's Great Britain*. After a brief description of the general sense of the show, I have focused on scenes that create two forms of national culinary capital: the cosmopolitan, which creates distinction in class and ethnicity, and the rough culinary capital, which relates to gender distinction. In Chapter 5, I have found that cosmopolitanism is one of the main national ideologies on British food TV, and that behind the sense of openness toward the Other, it hides a neoliberal and neocolonialist sense of appropriation (Heldke 2003; Julier 2013; Buscemi 2014c). Oliver perfectly embodies this ideology, and this is exemplified in the many scenes of the show in which Oliver prepares ethnic dishes and considers them to be British. For example, in the East End of London, in buying the trendy multiethnic food, the dominant classes acquire this

form of cosmopolitan culinary capital. Their omnivorousness distinguishes them as people who are 'curious' and keen to try as many foods as they can. Their endless appetite is their distinctive trait in contrast to people who cannot or do not want to be omnivores (Warde and Gayo-Cal 2009; Naccarato and Lebesco 2012).

This cosmopolitan culinary capital distinguishes people according to class and ethnicity. In fact, on the one hand the national culinary capital represented in the show distinguishes the cosmopolitan dominant class that buy and eat trendy ethnic food from those who are not cosmopolitan. The distinction, in this case, is not purely a matter of wealth or class but, as Bourdieu argues, it depends on education, knowledge and, in a word, culture. In short, cosmopolitans are not necessarily rich or from the dominant classes, but they must have the taste and the education that allow them to appreciate and practise cosmopolitanism. On the other hand, cosmopolitanism does not only separate members of different classes. In fact, this form of national culinary capital also draws a line in an ethnic sense, between the British, who are curious about the Other's food, and the Other, people coming from other countries, who are simply represented in the shows as food providers and never as curious about other cuisines. In other words, to satisfy the cosmopolitan needs of the dominant groups, the Other must remain the Other.

This cosmopolitan form of national culinary capital is further highlighted through the semiotic analysis of the animated logo, which is, I argue, an exemplification of the intrinsic neoliberal and neocolonialist nature of cosmopolitanism. The apparent openness to the Other, visualised by the many flags, clashes with the fact that the many flags remain captured within the Union Jack. From a political economy perspective, I have related the continuous presence of the Union Jack in the show to the restaurant chain opened by Oliver shortly after the end of the series, named Union Jacks and serving the same food promoted on the show. Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) argue that TV shows creating culinary capital usually provide the audience with illusory access to culinary capital. In this case, instead, I would argue that Oliver's show suggests a real access, which directly leads to his restaurants.

The second form of national culinary capital which I have found on the show is what I have called 'rough culinary capital'. It relates to masculinity, the British landscape and roughness, and creates gender distinction. In the scenes that represent this form of culinary capital, Oliver is overtly masculinised and plays the roles of the soldier, the hunter and the chef cooking meat and showing its animal origins. These are definitely three masculine roles. Moreover, he cooks while adding 'masculine' ingredients to his dishes, such as great quantity of alcohol and spicy substances. Furthermore, his manners are overtly rough; for example, he replaces the lid with a newspaper, touches his ears and then the food, and so on. The representation of the British landscape and of outside cooking is a recurring element in many British celebrity chefs' shows. I found this in Chapter 5, when I investigated the field of British food TV. In this chapter, I have found that many parts of *Jamie's Great Britain* perfectly belong to this strand.

The last point that I have analysed in relation to class and ethnicity is the role of Scotland in the series. Scotland provides the programme with a pre-modern form of culinary capital. However, just in the moment in which Oliver seems to celebrate Scotland's difference, he also underlines its being involved in the United Kingdom. Vikings, in fact, are the common origins of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and, while eating game, the celebrity chef underlines that England, Scotland, and Wales, 'together', have the best game in the world. Scotland is therefore different, but not separated from the rest of the nation, and does not offer another form of culinary capital, just the bases of that already represented in England and Wales. In conclusion, if the nation looks outside to 'eat the Other', it is necessary that its boundaries are safe. In times of Scottish independence and devolution, thus, the show wants to represent the country as immune to breaking up.

Thus, cosmopolitanism refers to colonialism, and is therefore a national ideology which the British state is based on. TV in this case represents it, even though in Oliver's re-elaborated form. Rough culinary capital, instead, despite reinforcing the national ideology of the unity of the nation, originates from both national ideologies and the role of the celebrity chef. Thus, it demonstrates that the media, in this case,

can put forward other forms of national culinary capital by playing a more active role. The celebrity chef, in fact, is a role which is independent from national ideologies and even has a global dimension. Thus, the media do not simply mirror what the state promotes, but add their elements to the scenario, which in the end is the result of a mediation, of a process of negotiation. In this case, Couldry's (2003) idea that even the media are a meta-field is fully demonstrated. Instead, the analysis of the Italian programme demonstrates that Italian food TV has not yet achieved this level of independence from the state.

Another point regards women, who never cook outside, or never adopt the rough manners utilised by Oliver or deal with the animal origins of meat. When women come from abroad, as with men coming from other countries, they only cook 'their' dishes, providing British, omnivorous consumers with their specialities, and are never curious about other cuisines. When women are British, they only cook traditional British dishes without elaborating them. Thus, all the women in the show are neither cosmopolitan nor rough cooks. In conclusion, *Jamie's Great Britain* excludes women from both the two forms of national culinary capital accumulated by Oliver (and other men): the cosmopolitan, stemming from the British cosmopolitan approach, and the rough, linked to the 'wild' representation of the British landscape and of raw food. This happens on the level of cooking, and therefore of being tastemakers. Instead, women are allowed to participate in both forms of national culinary capital only as consumers of food cooked by men. This, however, is a subordinate position in comparison to the dominant role of the cook and tastemaker, that, as seen, are always men.

Before concluding, I advance a last point that emerges from this chapter and that regards the whole series in general and its presenter. I have already underlined that *Jamie's Great Britain* may be considered as a shift in Oliver's career. In fact, in the show Oliver considers British food as a positive model, while in his previous shows it had often been represented as a problem. This shift may be better understood if we apply Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme to Oliver career. In the previous shows, Oliver had acquired a great amount of popularity and economic capital, and his

position in the scheme was therefore very close to popularisation. However, he was more a celebrity rather than a chef, and what he needed, after those shows, was legitimisation and cultural capital. In this sense, coming back to his roots and adhering to the national ideologies and beliefs of his country may be considered a good way to the legitimisation as a chef rather than as a celebrity. The next chapter draws the overall conclusions and implications of the whole study and the potential developments that it offers.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter discusses the main results of this thesis and its contribution to the literature on both food and media studies focusing on TV representation of food and culinary capital. What is more, this chapter also compares the outcomes relating to both the Italian and the British shows relating to the three categories mentioned in the research questions, class, gender and ethnicity. Finally, it also explains potential developments for future investigation and implications for media scholars and practitioners.

This thesis has made a new contribution to the fields and areas cited above first, by theorising the existence of national culinary capital, second, by demonstrating that through this the nation plays the role of meta-tastemaker, and third, by finding one form of Italian culinary capital on the food travelogue *Ti Ci Porto Io* and two kinds of the British one in the food travelogue *Jamie's Great Britain*.

National Culinary Capital

In relation to the first outcome, this work has termed national culinary capital as the form of culinary capital based on the nation. National culinary capital enriches and further articulates the wider concept of culinary capital theorised by Naccarato and LeBesco (2012). For them, forms of culinary capital “make sense of food as an economic and cultural commodity [and] ... demonstrate how society's food practices function to circulate and challenge prevailing values and ideologies” (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012, p.1-2). I have specified what some of these “prevailing values and ideologies” actually are when they relate to the nation.

This theorisation has also added to other pre-existing theories. Bourdieu (1998b) highlights that cultural capital also depends on place and time, and that there is a geographical differentiation in the way in which it is shaped. Also Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) find that place and time affects culinary capital. What I have added

to this perspective is that 'place' is only the first half of a more complex process. In fact, I have found that Italy and Britain build different forms of national culinary capital, and that this is often represented as a matter of place. Actually, these different approaches to food are, rather than simply geographical, also historical, social, anthropological, and so on. For example, love for simple food and suspicion of more complex dishes in Italy are explained in Capatti and Montanari (2003) and Parasecoli (2004) as an effect of the peasant food culture that the higher classes have re-elaborated. Similarly, Scottish ancestral character is suggested by the historical and natural elements of the land. This thesis has acknowledged this first half of the process, but has added that all of this is re-created, re-presented and stereotyped for power-related reasons. In fact, on *Ti Ci Porto Io* the simplicity of the food becomes the basis of sacred culinary capital, which fuels the religious sense of an Italian, superior, food; and on *Jamie's Great Britain* Scottish ancestral nature becomes a means to reinforce the boundaries of the nation. In this scenario, national culinary capital becomes a weapon through which those who dominate the field of the nation try to sustain the existing social structure and their power. Contrastingly, sometimes national culinary capital is also a weapon for dominated or emergent agents to subvert the existing balance.

The Meta-tastemaker

The second outcome relates to the role of meta-tastemaker played by the state. For Bourdieu et al. (1994) the state is a meta-field, which can influence the other fields and also works as any other field. When influencing the field of food TV, the nation influences the construction of national culinary capital, and in doing so supports itself. The state plays the role of meta-tastemaker when food shows represent national ideologies; that is, parts of the state. These ideologies legitimise some foods as providers of social distinction (e.g. the Vietnamese hamburger in the East End on Oliver's show) and do this 'above' the other tastemakers, such as celebrity chefs, journalists, food shows and so on. Therefore, the state plays the role of meta-tastemaker for its own convenience, because this is an opportunity to promote its

ideologies, in this case, British cosmopolitanism and neocolonialism. In a counter-process, the state also delegitimises other foods, because they do not support its ideologies; for example, ethnic food in Italy, which is extraneous to the dominant national approach. This is the process of inclusion/exclusion that I have developed in my theoretical framework in relation to nation-building. Powerful agents negotiate what is part of the nation and what is not, and in this case, it is food that marks the boundaries of the state.

Another outcome refers to the fact that the influence of the nation occurs in two ways: *within* each field (e.g. toward broadcasters within the field of national TV, as in the case of the BBC and Channel 4) and *among* fields (e.g. the field of politics as affecting that of national TV, as in the case of Berlusconi's Government and La7 in Italy). What is more, I have found that this influence is never one-way or fixed, but that it is continuously changing and open to new developments and balances. This is exemplified by the relationships between the nation and the media.

In my theoretical framework, I have explained Couldry's (2003) idea that even the media constitute a meta-field that competes with the nation on equal terms. This thesis has demonstrated that this applies to Britain, where the BBC plays the role of the global agent by selling formats all over the world and can be independent from the nation, despite being financed by it. In looking at Italy, results show that TV is strictly controlled by political parties, which impose their ideologies and perspectives. Instead, the Italian scenario seems to acknowledge the preponderant role of the media in a way that is different from Couldry's point. The fact that Berlusconi was a media tycoon before becoming a politician, shows that in Italy, the media and the nation do not compete on equal terms but mix with each other. In conclusion, this is a further demonstration of media power, but slightly different from the equal terms pointed out by Couldry. Thus, I have demonstrated that the nation remains a powerful institution even in today's global scenario.

Finally, the idea that conflicts shape social relations has been supported by the ontological and epistemological views that this thesis relies on. In fact, for me constructed and multiple realities are not shaped by simple inter-relationships, but by

power-led mechanisms. In short, there are multiple realities because each of the agents in the field constructs his/her reality in order to create consensus and dominate others. In this sense, Oliver's reality is one of the existing food realities in Britain, just as Vissani's version of Italian food in Italy. These realities are challenged by the realities created by other agents; for example, the emergent reality of the female chefs in Italy (see Chapter 5). This is one of the cases in which one agent represents elements challenging the dominant ideologies in the field. As already said, in the two analysed shows these challenging representations play a minor role, while dominant ideologies are continually supported.

National Culinary Capital on The Two Shows

With regard to the third outcome, I have demonstrated that the ideological, constructed national food culture plays a relevant role on the two analysed shows, and in fact some foundational elements of Italian and British food culture shape the two shows. On one hand, some Italian regions excluded in the nineteenth century when Italian food culture was shaped (Capatti and Montanari 2003) are still absent from Vissani's show (see Chapters 5 and 6). On the other hand, the East End's cosmopolitan food of the Industrial Revolution and the Vikings' raw food from uncultivated land have been the two strands on which British food culture has been built (Mason 2004); significantly, they still constitute the basis of the two forms of British culinary capital on Oliver's show (see Chapters 5 and 7). Other and more specific influences of Italian and British food culture on the representation of national culinary capital in the two shows are summed up throughout this chapter.

As Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) point out, culinary capital is suggested by TV shows through the choices of tastemakers, such as celebrity chefs, food journalists and experts, and these shows promise the viewer illusory access to this distinctive condition. In analysing the two shows, I have found that even the national form of this capital is suggested by the two presenters-chefs' food choices and by other tastemakers that the shows depict. Moreover, I have found that not only do these programmes suggest forms of national culinary capital, but that they also represent

the transfer of capital from tastemakers to people participating in the shows and eating specific items of food or experiencing exclusive food habits. Finally, I explain below why further research is needed to find out whether or not the promised access to the audience is illusory.

The last issue regarding the representation of national culinary capital and of the state as meta-tastemaker on the shows concerns the degree of awareness of this construction. After having analysed these representations in depth, here I discuss how the influence of the state occurs, and the degree of awareness of agents such as producers, celebrity chefs and so on. I believe that answering these questions is similar to answering the 'big question' of nation-building, which is 'who builds the nation?'; this is a problem without a definitive solution, as the nation is built by many, ever changing factors. In fact, no process of social construction is entirely either conscious or unconscious.

In my investigation, I argue that the process of construction of national culinary capital and of the state as meta-tastemaker is a complex mechanism supported by factors which are hegemonic rather than conscious or unconscious. In fact, hegemony accommodates the relationships among people who have different economic status, political views and social aims, but that are involved in the same social constructions (Hall et al. 1982), for example the nation. This explains how and why “people who are oppressed or damaged by hierarchical fields of power sometimes embrace social constructions that constrain them...Coercion and hegemony bend or distort reality” (Pfohl 2008, p.657).

In the case of the two shows, no one can disguise the proximity to power of the two broadcasters and the two celebrity chefs. Certainly, this has contributed to a power-related and ideology-led representation of the nation. Moreover, I believe that the proximity of the state to public TV in both countries has created a formatted style of representing the nation by supporting its ideologies. This style has spread throughout commercial TV, because it is recognised by the audience as a code of contemporary TV. Related to this, I have found that the genre of national food travelogue is particularly subject to this code of representation of the nation. What is more, I argue

that commercial interests have also encouraged these social constructions. For example the fact that Channel 4 and La7 are competitors of public companies (the BBC and Rai) in a field regulated by the state may suggest that they support dominant national ideologies. In addition, even sincere (and aware) sentiments of being part of the nation, as emerged from the interview with the Italian producer, have contributed to the process for me. The list could go on. However, I believe that this is an account that future research on the topic should develop. Finally, full awareness of social constructions is one of the ultimate goals of much work on social research, in order to make people conscious of political and economic hegemonic forces (Freire 1989), and may also be considered to be one of the final aims of this work. In the next section, I focus on more specific results of this thesis.

Specific Results

Besides these general outcomes, this thesis has achieved more specific results. In order to develop them, here I report the research questions and answer them one at a time.

Does representing national culinary capital produce social distinction and in which ways?

- **Does this representation link to class distinction and how?**
- **Is national culinary capital related to gender issues and how?**
- **Is ethnicity involved in the representation of national culinary capital and how?**

This thesis has demonstrated how the two shows represent three different forms of national culinary capital, sacred culinary capital in Italy and cosmopolitan and rough culinary capital in Britain.

I have found that Vissani's show creates distinction by representing a kind of food that has almost all the following characteristics: it is untouched by technology, uncorrupted by modernity, descending from the past, threatened by someone else and requesting liturgical forms of preparation. Those who demonstrate proximity to and expertise in this type of food are represented as members of a higher group, while those who betray its liturgy (Nello, who uses powder milk or Laura, who pierces meat with the fork) are reprimanded, even physically, by Vissani. I have termed this food 'sacred food', and the culinary capital relating to it sacred culinary capital.

Sacred culinary capital carries with it ideologies and values that are interestingly linked to many agents that have dominated the meta-field of the Italian nation, and the field of Italian TV over the years. In fact, it originated from the Catholic hegemony in these fields. Rai, the national TV controlled by the Catholic politicians of the DC party (Emanuelli 2004), built the first Italian TV shows on it, serving the purpose of representing Catholic values such as simplicity, poverty, essentiality and fear of modernity. Sacred food was also supported by the Communist party, because it opposed consumerism and capitalism (Chiarenza 2002). With the advent of the era of Berlusconi, sacred food continued to be the most important kind of food represented on TV and in other media, but increased two of its already existing elements: the suspicion for Other's food and the objectification of the woman, both important parts of Berlusconi's ideology (Ferrari 2010; Zanardo 2010). A left-wing agent such as Slow Food, with many connections to the nation, has always backed both sacred food in general and the two specific Berlusconian elements, in its attempt to conservatively reinforce Italian national identity (MacDonald 2013). Moreover, Berlusconi's period added the neoliberal primacy of making money to sacred food, extolling the role of the entrepreneur.

I have summed up the history of sacred food because it is interesting to see how it has been generated and slightly modified over the years by the intervention of precise political (or religious, but with a political role) forces belonging to the nation. What is more, I have found that only in smaller, satellite TV shows of the present time, more globalised forms of food culture emerge, while mainstream TV

remains conservatively anchored to sacred food, as with the mainstream show *Ti Ci Porto Io*. Finally, I have found the same ethnocentric approach to food when I have interviewed the Italian producer of the show. The way in which, after a calm and relaxed conversation, he talked about Italian food, by repeating the terms 'we Italians' and 'our food' many times, is an exemplification of how Italian food ethnocentrism is not only a matter of broadcasting.

Jamie's Great Britain constructs national culinary capital by creating two distinct forms of this capital, the cosmopolitan and the rough national culinary capital. Oliver represents cosmopolitanism as based on the English Industrial Revolution and the Welsh Coal Boom; cosmopolitanism implies the curiosity of the British for the food of immigrants and colonies, and so it ends up appropriating those foods and people (Bell and Valentine 1997). This appropriation is exemplified in the scenes where Oliver, after tasting and appreciating food from abroad, says that it is good and therefore it is now British. The second form of national culinary capital, the rough one, originates from food rooted in the landscape, uncultivated land and raw food, and the show represents it as being mostly generated by the Vikings in the whole of Great Britain.

Both forms of national culinary capital are profoundly rooted in British food culture and they have frequently been represented on British TV and food TV specifically. On one hand, this thesis has demonstrated that British food TV has broadcast ethnic food and chefs since its origins and that the Industrial Revolution is recognised as the starting point of the modern British approach to food (Mason 2004). Oliver's representation of cosmopolitan culinary capital fully applies to this cultural strand. On the other hand, British food culture has also built on the concepts of uncultivated and rural (Wight 2008). Food TV has always represented this inclination, and food shows such as *River Cottage* (Fearnley-Whittingstall 2011) or *The Hairy Bikers: Mums Know Best* (2010) clearly reflect it. In depicting Oliver cooking alone in the countryside or hunting in Scotland, *Jamie's Great Britain* builds its second type of national culinary capital on this national construct.

Comparing the Italian and the British results testifies to the fact that different national influences over the field of TV and food TV lead to different constructions of national culinary capital. In fact, in Italy precise political parties are responsible for this, and also the fact that *Ti Ci Porto Io* represents just one type of national culinary capital may be explained by the necessity of avoiding political clashes between different ideologies. In Britain, however, it is difficult to ascribe cosmopolitan and rough food to a precise political force, such as the Conservative, the Labour or the Liberal Democratic parties. Consequently, Oliver's approach relates to wider, horizontal instances such as colonialism or uncultivated, archaic Britain. The nation, here, rather than stressing the point of view of a political party, celebrates the unity of England, Scotland and Wales. Each of them has contributed to shaping the two forms of culinary capital. Also for this reason, this show may construct two different kinds of capital, opposed to but not creating clashes between each other. Importantly, in these dynamics Northern Ireland continues to be ignored. Oliver does not go to this part of the UK, and it is not acknowledged as a place of origin of any form of national culinary capital. As with the Italian regions excluded by Vissani, it is confirmed that national food cultures are the result of a merciless process of inclusion/exclusion.

Results also show that Naccarato and LeBesco's (2012) division of culinary capital into two wide categories, the omnivorous and the elitist (see Chapter 3), is fully confirmed on these shows. The Italian sacred and the British rough culinary capital decidedly apply to the elitist category, while the cosmopolitan one represented by Oliver refers to the category of omnivorousness. Moreover, it is important that I have not found other categories, and thus Naccarato and LeBesco's division proves to be exhaustive of the whole concept of culinary capital after this study.

Another interesting outcome has been the general support, and the rare challenges, of these shows to the dominant forms of national culinary capital. In Chapter 3, I build on theories pointing out that culinary capital sometimes confirms, and sometimes challenges the existing social structure (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012). In these programmes supporting existing ideologies, confirming seems to be hugely

predominant over the challenging of these prevailing beliefs. Analysing the position and the aims of the two chefs through Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) scheme, may help to explain their adherence to dominant ideologies. I have demonstrated that Vissani had never presented a show before *Ti Ci Porto Io*, and that he was mostly a *chef de cuisine*. By presenting *Ti Ci Porto Io* he shifts from the pole of legitimisation to that of popularisation, and adhering to dominant ideologies is the fastest way of achieving popularity. Oliver, instead, had already gained popularity as a 'social' chef. With the twist of *Jamie's Great Britain*, in which he continuously praises Britain, its food and its food culture, he is trying to acquire legitimisation. Therefore he needs to place himself within a culinary tradition, and cosmopolitan and rough food perfectly serve this purpose.

Related to the adherence to dominant ideologies, I have also found that *Ti Ci Porto Io* was broadcast by La7 in a period in which the channel seemed to acquire political independence. Despite this, the show perfectly mirrors Berlusconi's ideology, especially in its negative representation of the Other and of the woman. All of this took place despite the fact that in those days Berlusconi's last Government fell and Berlusconi could have appeared as a residual element. Actually, as said by the producer of the show (see Appendix 2), La7 was desperately in search of ratings, and therefore La7's aim was to achieve popularity, and not anti-Berlusconiism. I argue that popularity was guaranteed by following Berlusconiism because Berlusconi's model was still actually dominant, if not on the political level, certainly on the cultural one. Dismissed from Government not through elections but through the decision of a few politicians, Berlusconi was in fact still really popular in many polls, and Berlusconiism was still a cultural landmark (see Chapter 5).

Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that in Italy, negative views of the Other and the woman had also been mediated, before Berlusconi, by other dominant agents in the field (Catholicism and Slow Food). I argue that in negatively representing the Other and the woman, La7 was mirroring not only Berlusconiism, but two widespread components of Italy and Italian food culture: ethnocentrism and male chauvinism. In doing so, La7, Vissani and the show simply follow a secure trend in order to achieve

their real aim, attaining high ratings. The next three subsections focus on the three secondary research questions, regarding class, gender and ethnicity in turn.

Class

By representing national culinary capital, the two shows create class distinction in two different ways. In *Ti Ci Porto Io*, proximity to sacred food confers a very high status that is shown off for example by producing rice with machinery of the eighteenth century in a countryside in which hard work is excluded. My analysis has demonstrated that the show constructs an idealised and past-related Italy, in which wealthy people, both rural and metropolitan, enjoy the liturgy and the constructed exclusivity of sacred food. Distance from reality is one of the characteristics that for Bourdieu (1996) signals distinction. For him, showing off indifference for reality means being wealthy or powerful. This is the way in which Vissani, Rocco, Ferron and other people underline their high social status, sometimes hidden behind the clothes of the farmer. Related to this, Bourdieu (2010) underlines that dominant classes sometimes disguise themselves by dressing like members of the working class. This is what happens to Ferron and Nello, and the idealised countryside around them underlines their detachment from necessity and their legitimising of the taste of luxury.

The idealisation of daily life is what Chiurco (2011) has found as one of the principal strategies of Berlusconi's TV, as I have already explained. Thus, the show reproduces Berlusconi's idea that TV must make Italians dream, and must not represent versions of reality (see Chapter 5). This kind of TV, in fact, does not address a precise social class, but an indistinct class of electors. This confirms that, when *Ti Ci Porto Io* was shot, Berlusconi was a residual element of the meta-field of the nation, but was still a dominant presence in the fields of cultural production, such as TV. Again, La7 shows that its real aim is to achieve high ratings, and to do so, it follows the most popular model of TV since the 1980s, regardless of its ideological implications.

Jamie's Great Britain behaves in a totally different way in relation to class. When the programme creates distinction through cosmopolitanism, it actually represents the

real British cosmopolitan and omnivorous dominant class in its effort to 'eat the Other' in order to acquire more power. Here the class represented is not mythical, and is also depicted in its real realms, such as the East End of London and the trendy new Glasgow, both ex working-class environments. In these scenes, those who acquire national culinary capital are first chefs, Oliver, and for example the chefs preparing hamburgers and cooking the haggis at the restaurant in Glasgow. The second category that acquires distinction through cosmopolitan food is composed of people who consume that food. The dominant-class Londoners acquire exclusivity through the hamburgers served on the street while they chat, smile and smirk to each other; and the customers of the oldest restaurant in Glasgow, whose faces are never shown, accumulate exclusivity by eating the haggis with the Indian touch. The fact that we are not allowed to see their faces identifies them as a class, and not as single persons. We only see their forks and knives when dealing with the food elegantly placed on their plates. They exist because they eat, and their omnivorous, insatiable need to taste new foods places them at the opposite pole of the mythical inhabitants of the Italian mythical countryside.

Contrastingly, Oliver carelessly amasses food on the plates without any concern when the show represents the second form of national culinary capital, the rough one. Even here, as in Italy, the landscape is the source of distinction, but Oliver does not idealise it. When he shows the fish smoker using the same system as the 1700s, the programme depicts the fatigue of the food producer and the sweat of his brow, as with the tiring job of the fishermen or the 'real' dead animals in the hunt. As with cosmopolitanism, those who first show this kind of capital are Oliver and the other food providers, such as fishermen, fish-smokers and hunters. They masculinely dominate nature and get raw food from the uncultivated land, and Oliver also serves it in his restaurant chain. This directly links to other food shows such as *River Cottage* (Fearnley-Whittingstall 2011) and to their historical references, primordial Britain, Vikings and the old way of getting food from the forest. *Jamie's Great Britain* shows the source of this capital and also indicates the people acquiring it; for example, when Oliver says that the fisherman in Essex delivers seafood to the best restaurants in London, and that oysters were the food of the people but today only a

few may afford them. Again, it is the metropolitan dominant class that can accumulate even this form of capital and benefit from it. Along with them, there is also a rural dominant class, formed by the hunters and the fishermen, that are both providers and consumers of this kind of food.

Finally, as seen in Chapter 1, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) write on the illusory access that these shows give the viewer. This research cannot say anything precise on this issue, this not being the focus of this research. Certainly, Vissani's show overtly builds the relationship with its audience by representing a very high class in mythical places, and only makes the viewer dream of it. Oliver instead represents more real cosmopolitan and rough contexts and through them, offers his audience the possibility to acquire the two respective forms of culinary capital. In the section on further research, I suggest audience analysis as the method that may also contribute to casting light on this issue.

Gender

With regard to the secondary question on gender, this thesis has found that the Italian programme represents two hermetically sealed compartments, female home cooking and male professional cooking. No interaction is allowed between the two spheres. However, interestingly the show also represents attempts to break this order and their failure; for example, when housewives clash with Vissani at the market, or when Vissani and the professional female chef clash with each other and the male chef clearly bans the woman from the highest forms of professional cooking. The representation of these attempts may be linked to two possibilities. The first is signalling that the challenge to these traditional roles is possible, but I argue that if this was the reason, the show should have shown successful attempts. The second, and more probable, reason is that in showing the failure of the attempt, *Ti Ci Porto Io* underlines the impossibility of such an interaction.

In doing so, Vissani's show follows the Italian tradition but with an interesting innovation in relation to Italian food culture. The field of Italian food TV, as seen in Chapter 5, has always considered female home cooking as the kind of cooking to be

represented and extolled, and male professional cooking as a form of cooking to criticise on mainstream television and to only represent in a positive way on smaller satellite channels (Buscemi 2014b). Instead in this show, male professional cooking is represented on mainstream TV as a valid form of cooking, but it must remain separate from female home cooking.

Finally, in this show the only form of challenge to sacred culinary capital is enacted by a woman. It is Rocco, in fact, that speaks highly of molecular cuisine. Even though Vissani immediately tears both her and this type of cuisine to pieces, Rocco's attempt marks the moment in which an emergent (very emergent, at this stage) element enters the field. One agent challenges the dominant ideology while dominant agents reject the proposal.

In *Jamie's Great Britain*, men and women never clash with each other. When the show suggests cosmopolitan culinary capital, also linking to historical events such as the English Industrial Revolution or the Welsh Coal Boom, the show represents the same divide as the Italian one, with women in home kitchens and men as chefs. No man cooks in a home kitchen, just like in Vissani's show, and more interestingly, no woman is curious of another cuisine. In fact, the women coming from other countries, such as the Italian, the Vietnamese and the Yemeni ones, only cook their own dishes; and also the British women, the Welsh and the Scottish, only cook dishes from their own traditions. In the meantime, British men cross boundaries and discover, taste and mix new foods.

What is more, even when the show represents rough culinary capital, women are totally excluded from cooking and from suggesting this kind of capital to the viewer. The British landscape seems to be a male exclusivity, at least when it comes to providing food from it.

The two fishermen, the fish smoker and a typical male activity such as the hunt are represented in this part of the show along with Oliver's masculine ingredients, manners and dishes. The only exception to this rule is the partial participation of women in the hunt. In the scenes on both culinary capital, however, women are allowed to be consumers, and acquire capital, either cosmopolitan or rough, through

eating these foods. However, this allows women to accumulate less capital than men-tastemakers.

In the end, both shows relegate the woman to a secondary role. The Italian show limits the woman's presence only to the home kitchen, and shows the failed attempts to have access to the male space of professional chef. The British programme, when representing cosmopolitanism, deprives the woman of the necessary ability to create or acquire this capital, which is curiosity of the Other. In representing the second form of national culinary capital, the rough one, Oliver's show simply excludes the woman from those who provide it. In the end, in *Jamie's Great Britain*, women remain guardians of what already exists, namely traditions, and do not suggest any form of national culinary capital as tastemakers, and can only accumulate smaller quantities of the two forms of national culinary capital by eating those foods.

Ethnicity

In answering the question on ethnicity, this thesis has found two different approaches to the matter in the two shows. *Ti Ci Porto Io* neatly relates to ethnocentrism, while *Jamie's Great Britain* shows a multiethnic and cosmopolitan attitude. The two programmes often characterise their forms of national culinary capital relating to these two different approaches. In the Italian show, sacred culinary capital may only be accumulated through production, preparation, commercialisation and consumption of Italian food. Vissani and the other tastemakers continuously suggest Italian food as a source of distinction and, interestingly, people coming from abroad can accumulate this form of capital only if they 'bend' to Italian foods and ways of preparation. Otherwise, they are represented negatively, as ethnic food is represented.

My analysis has exemplified that Tony, the American man living in the small village of Civita di Bagnoregio, perfectly embodies the man coming from outside who has found his way of acquiring culinary capital in Italy and in Italian food. He likes Italy and Italian food, and the show excludes every 'foreign' element of his life, even his presumed American accent (we never hear him speak). He lives in a nice house with

a garden full of herbs and plants, even guides Vissani through the village and introduces him to the woman making home-made pasta. In the end, he is a real expert of Italian food, and he has built his distinction from others on this.

Foreigners' conversion to Italian food is not always peaceful. Sharif/Sceriffo is the cook originally called Sharif, whose name is Italianised into Sceriffo by the chef and the other assistant, both Italians. This scene emphasises that in an Italian kitchen each foreign element must be adapted to Italy. Significantly, not only does Sharif lose his real name (and therefore his original identity), but also his new name, Sceriffo, relates to the American/Western world, which is usually opposed to the Arabic, which the name Sharif, and presumably the cook Sharif, belong to. Thus, Sharif/Sceriffo has forcedly been deprived of his identity in order to be accepted in the Italian kitchen. He does not acquire exclusivity in the sense given generally in this thesis, but thanks to the new 'Italian' identity, he is allowed to work in an Italian restaurant.

Differently, those who do not convert to sacred food are demeaned. In the scene of the Chinese restaurant, Chinese cuisine is negatively represented and even traditions not belonging to Italy, such as Chinese clothes and chopsticks, are ridiculed. Finally, the fact that Vissani goes to the restaurant along with a male comedian and leaves aside his female co-presenter Rocco, unveils the premeditated aim of making fun of the Chinese owner and cook; additionally, it means that going to a 'foreign' place, inhabited by the Other, is a male realm, while females must be left home, the place being somehow mysterious if not dangerous. Incidentally, Rocco is the most open person in the show. I have already highlighted her curiosity for molecular cuisine, and in the Chinese restaurant she could have played a more mediating role. Therefore, ethnic food is not part of sacred food, as also underlined by the representation of the ethnic market in Rome. While I have demonstrated that every day the market is crowded with both Italians and foreigners, the show represents Esquilino market as a place only attended by foreigners (as with the Chinese restaurant). Thus, through the strategy of isolation, the show reinforces its ethnocentric approach.

In contrast, *Jamie's Great Britain* from the beginning onwards holds a multiethnic approach through which Oliver illustrates, celebrates and praises cuisines coming from other countries. He shows his cosmopolitan culinary capital by mixing foods coming from different places, by following the global itineraries undertaken by certain foods, and by meeting people coming from abroad to learn more about their dishes.

However, this thesis has also demonstrated that concepts like multiethnicity and cosmopolitanism hide a second aim; that is, possessing the Other (Julier 2013). Oliver perfectly embodies this ideology, and, as said above, takes possession of the Other's food and ascribes it to his constructed version of British food. In the end, the biggest amount of culinary capital that he acquires comes from this neocolonialist approach. In fact, people coming from abroad continuously offer him opportunities to increase his capital, and he exploits them in this sense. Finally, when the show represents rough culinary capital, Oliver's focus is not on people coming from abroad, but on the relationships between England, Scotland and Wales. I have already explained above how all of the three areas of the UK participate in the construction of national culinary capital. Furthermore, Scotland is represented in its limited diversity and, paradoxically, its diversity serves the purpose of bringing the UK together, as seen in the analysis of the sixth episode.

In the end, the two shows enact two different strategies both aiming at defeating the Other. Vissani's ethnocentrism bans the Other from the realm of sacred food, and Oliver's multiethnicity welcomes the Other in order to take possession of them and their food. In addition, Oliver represents Britain as a whole formed by three different kingdoms, England, Scotland and Wales, and demonstrates that each of them adds something to the final result of cosmopolitan and rough national culinary capital. In conclusion, both the two programmes leave the Other to their Otherness, but with different strategies and by drawing on different national ideologies. The next section develops minor results of this thesis.

Other Results

Apart from the key results illustrated so far, this thesis has also put forward three classifications that can also help further research. First, the concepts of 'sacred food' and 'sacred culinary capital' effectively identify the type of food that lies at the centre of Italian food culture. In its involving religion, exclusivism and superiority, the adjective 'sacred' seems to me to be the word that gives the real sense of what this type of food means and refers to in Italy. The term can also be the basis of a refreshing and a reorganisation of undeveloped food TV studies in Italy. Second, 'rough food' and 'rough culinary capital' summarise the British local taste, alternative to the dominant cosmopolitanism. This taste involves not only the landscape and raw food, but also a certain 'masculine' stereotyped attitude of rude manners that has interesting gender links, and also class meanings in its contrasting representation of tough manners and local exclusivity. Finally, 'national food travelogue' is a sub-field of food TV that deserves attention. I have already touched on this concept in another study (Buscemi 2014c), but in this thesis I have focused on the 'genetic' link between food and the nation that these programmes build. I mean genetic in the constructed and not biological sense, because this link is somehow in the constructed DNA of these shows. National food travelogues seem to me to be the ideal context in which TV may represent national culinary capital.

Further Study

Research Approach

This thesis applies methods that are part of the qualitative research paradigm, such as semiotic, qualitative image analysis and in depth interviews. Certainly, they have allowed me to go in depth into the influence of the nation and of nation food culture within these shows, and to contextualise them in a historical and political economy scenario. Clearly, the outcomes achieved are affected by this approach and its acknowledged limits, first of all subjectivity and the risks of interpretation.

In order to achieve a more complete set of outcomes, I would encourage future researchers to analyse the object of my analysis from other points of view. More specifically, I suggest that audience analysis, both qualitative and quantitative, can verify the value of my results. Moreover, this approach would shed light on the transfer of national culinary capital from tastemakers to viewers. It is not clear to me whether or not and how viewers acquire forms of national culinary capital, and how illusory this process is, as I have written above in this chapter. Investigating the audience may provide interesting results. Finally, hearing from members of the audience may test how much people are aware of social constructions.

In addition, I would suggest that the connections between food TV and national culinary capital should also be studied through field observation. Witnessing the production process of national food travelogues or food shows in general would help understand the dynamics that allow the nation and its food culture to become organic parts of the shows. Such a methodology would unveil possible specific roles aimed at this, unaware mental processes that lead producers and writers to enacting such dynamics, or other unexpected mechanisms through which the national food culture affects food TV. Finally, interviews with members of the production staff would investigate the degree of awareness of the constructed nature of the nation among people involved in the production process.

Potential Research

Several times Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) repeat that culinary capital is a flexible concept that allows the researcher to analyse it in multiple forms. Even the national version of this concept may be studied from different perspectives. First, I find that it offers the researcher various geographic and historical variables. Geographically, it would be interesting to analyse how various nations all over the world, even ruled by different forms of government from dictatorships to democracies, influence the field of food TV by suggesting/imposing national values. If two countries such as Italy and Britain, which are both European and democratic, show such differences, I would suggest investigating countries far from each other. Finally, the strong link

between religion and food in Italy may be developed in other countries in which religion is part and parcel of the state, such as many of the Mediterranean ones. Historically, if the analysis goes beyond television, other food media such as cookbooks and restaurant guides can also suggest different ways of creating national culinary capital over the years. Related to this, my analysis of printed Nazi propaganda (Buscemi, under review), although not focusing on culinary capital, suggests that past (and stricter) forms of government sometimes provide unexpected results.

Second, I would suggest focusing on other food TV sub-genres. In this thesis, I have analysed national culinary capital where it is easier to find it, that is, in programmes that directly relate to the nation. It would be interesting, for future researchers, to analyse food programmes that do not show such strict links to the nation. Furthermore, I would also suggest analysing how global food shows such as *MasterChef* or *Hell's Kitchen* represent national culinary capital. The question that would be answered is whether they do it in relation to the countries where they are broadcast, or if dominant nations impose not only the format of the show, but also their national culinary capital and their class, gender and ethnic perspectives.

Finally, this thesis also concerns a non-media field, which is food studies, because culinary capital is a concept that not only relates to its representation on TV, but also to everyday power relationships. Thus, as Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) have analysed culinary capital in both the media and the sociological field, even national culinary capital should deserve attention from food studies' scholars, with a focus not only on media, but also on how food in the markets, on the street, at restaurants and in the kitchen create distinction relating to the nation.

Thesis Implications

This thesis has contributed to the body of theoretical knowledge in the fields of both media studies and food studies. Drawing on the already existing concept of culinary capital (Naccarato and LeBesco 2012), this study has argued that there also exists a national version of culinary capital. On media, it has added an important

contribution to the already vast range of works on food TV in Britain; in addition, it has constituted a forefront in the undeveloped field of Italian studies on food TV. On food studies, it contributes to the development of the specific area of the creation and acquisition of forms of capital related to food. What is more, this thesis joins Bourdieu's studies and more precisely its strand already enacted by Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) on general culinary capital. Finally, this study can raise the reader's awareness of the processes of social construction that revolve around our daily life. As widely acknowledged, being aware of these processes, is the first step in reacting to them.

Besides this, the present study also makes a contribution to the field of media practice, in the area of food TV. On today's TV, producers, directors and writers of food shows are responsible for representing food within precise formats. With the economic crisis, programmes cost less every year, and the focus of practitioners has shifted from big entertainment to less expensive sub-genres, such as the talent show, the travelogue or the reality show. Due to the resulting lack of the more attractive entertaining elements, they must build their shows on simpler, and cheaper, strategies. This thesis has demonstrated that linking to the nation may be a fruitful strategy, and that national food travelogues can solve the economic problem. In doing so, I would suggest that certainly reinforcing the nation is important and fruitful; however, I argue that even challenging long-term dominant ideologies and perceiving and representing emergent instances can contribute to opening the way to new trends and finding new markets for the future.

In relation to media practitioners, this thesis also provides implications at a more general level of meaning, linking to our perceptions of the relationships between Nature and Culture. Traditional theories see the two concepts as separate and even in conflict. The idea that humans are not part of Nature, but that they are somehow superior to it, has been the dominant approach to the issue, and has also been one of the main justifications for pollution and environmental recklessness. If we humans are separate from Nature, when we pollute we do not harm ourselves, but only something that is external to ourselves.

Eco-semiotics sees that Nature and Culture are not detached from each other, but on the contrary, that 'culture can be visualized as being produced by nature' (Chaudhary 2012, p.114). On this line, Martinelli (2010, p.35) challenges any traditional view, even within semiotics, based on "the untouchable dualism Nature-Culture. Nature allowed, Culture not". In fact, for him 'it is when we divide the world in two that we are being superficial' (p.58). On Nature and Culture, "it is unacceptable to treat them separately, because too many and too complex are the relations between the two. We cannot analyse any cultural phenomenon as completely untied from natural context" (p.58, original emphasis).

In analysing the results of this work through the debate around the relationships between Nature and Culture, it is clear that both analysed shows hold a traditional view on the matter. In fact, all of the three forms of national culinary capital which have been found support the theory seeing Nature and Culture as opposed. In *Jamie's Great Britain*, rough culinary capital strongly refers to Nature as unspoiled by Culture, to a natural realm that must remain untouched; instead, cosmopolitan culinary capital considers Culture as superior, because it sees human forms of intervention such as the Industrial Revolution, the Coal Boom and even the Viking invasions as the source of this kind of food. Interestingly, while the British show acknowledges the relevance of both Nature and Culture, even though through their separation, in *Ti Ci Porto Io*, Culture simply does not exist, and the sole form of food which is celebrated, the sacred one, totally stems from Nature, while Culture is a threaten, as seen in Chapter 6.

In the end, all of this implies that mainstream media have difficulties in accepting innovative theories (such as the more appeased conception of Nature and Culture), and find refuge in more traditional and easy beliefs; for example, representing these two elements as separate and in contrast. Thus, the final implication that this thesis puts forward is the idea that even food programmes are still anchored to old theories, while media practitioners should challenge comfortable views and find new roads linking to more innovative perspectives; for instance, by creating shows based on a new vision of the relationships between Nature and Culture.

Autobiographical Reflection

Apart from the scientific outcomes and the implications above explained, this study also has an autobiographical relevance, which links to my former professional activity. For fifteen years I was a TV writer for Italian television, both public and commercial. As a professional, I contributed to many forms of media construction, even those linked to the nation that are the focus of this thesis. During my professional years, however, I never gave up my academic teaching, and as a result I had a foot in both camps, revolving around the same topic but from two different perspectives. As a professional, I supported the entertainment and informative mission of TV; as a lecturer, I had to explain my job but was also expected to stimulate student's critical thinking.

After the first enthusiastic years, I was increasingly aware of the ideological implications of TV, of the prominence of commercial interests, and of the influencing role that it has on its audience. One of the first signals of this discontent turned up when I was writing a live-show for teen-agers. While working, I realised that, whatever text in the script, the show would remain a powerful weapon to subjugate youngsters to consumerism. The programme was sponsored by companies that were in fact the real producers and writers. They not only had the right to interpose their messages with the show, but could also bring testimonials onto the stage 'by surprise', and promote something totally extraneous to the show. However, the real surprise came the day of the first episode. The show being 'live', I supposed that the public of teen-agers would protest at any interruption. I was instead surprised to see that they loved those 'live advertisements', and considered them as parts of the show, not realising, or not caring of, their commercial aims.

I had always been concerned with exasperate consumerism and hidden messages hitting 'easy' targets, in this case teen-agers, and had always discussed this with colleagues and executives, often having perspectives unpopular with my colleagues, who were overtly conservatives. For example, this happened in the case of the G8 summit in Genoa, where a boy who was protesting was killed and hundreds of pacifists were assaulted and hit by policemen. I believed that I could express my

personal opinion freely, even when in contrast with the others. Instead, my 'diversity' upset colleagues, producers and executives, who were only waiting for the right moment. The right moment arrived on a day in which, while working on a quiz, we all made a mistake (we mistook the questions of the quiz for those we had already written and published in a board game). All the members of the team indicated me as the one who was responsible, and the broadcaster decided not to renew my contract. Actually, the same broadcaster offered me another show, less important and remunerative. I accepted just to have time and money to organise my new life, because that day I decided that my life would change.

Apart from the single episode, what impressed me was the weakness of the professional relationships. In the end, money and ideology had damaged not only our shows, but also our friendship. Even though I had a couple of opportunities to work on interesting programmes, I wondered whether or not this would make sense. I was exhausted spending a great part of my life on something I did not believe in anymore, among people who had different beliefs and purports. In those days, a friend of a friend living in London told me of her PhD, adding that in north European countries it is quite usual that people tired of their professional careers do it at 45 or 50. It was the right phrase in the right moment, and that day I decided that I would pursue a PhD. At the beginning, tired of TV, I thought of choosing another discipline (creative writing), but later I decided to pursue a PhD on television, in order to understand more about this medium. However, only when I started reading critical works on TV for this research, did I fully realise that my unease had deep roots in a complex system of media, the economy and politics, and that it was that system that I wanted to investigate. Thus, only when I left my professional activity and focused solely on the academic work, was I able to look at this medium with a higher level of freedom and independence.

The first change affected my teaching. I have taught courses of TV writing since 1994 at the Catholic University and at IULM, two universities in Milan. I had started teaching as I ended my postgraduate course at the Catholic University. The professors who had taught me offered me the job as I discussed my dissertation, and

at the same time I also started working as a TV writer. While working in the media industry, I used to start my classes with Aristotle's (1997) *Poetics*, to explain 'the art' of inventing formats, characters and moving images. From the second year of my PhD on, I have started my classes with Aristotle again, but by explaining his *Rhetoric* (Aristotle 1954). This happened in order to provide students with the critical thinking necessary to unveil the strategic aims of the media when suggesting or imposing ideologies, even the national ones. The shift is clear: while before this research I considered TV writing as a creative activity, after it I have seen this job as a rhetoric strategy. Actually, for almost a year I was unsure that I would still be able to teach TV writing when this thesis was finished.

In the last few months, however, something has changed, and now I can see that the critical approach does not mean 'hating TV', but watching it in another way. In addition, one year ago I was awarded the Santander Grant Fund and carried out a study on Nazi propaganda and food. At present, I am considering the idea of shooting a documentary on it. It would be the best way of 'making it up' with television, and of merging my two activities, the academic and the professional.

In conclusion, this thesis has certainly been a form of retrospective analysis of my professional career, and a sort of revisiting of my past, at the beginning even upsetting and annoying, as written above. Clearly, I needed to revisit the world of TV in order to resolve and accommodate a relationship that had become uncomfortable. Researching TV critically has been the perfect way of smoothing out these sharp edges and a sort of return to the scene of the crime. Familiarising myself with critical theories on TV has allowed me to look at this medium from new perspectives. Today I no longer 'hate' TV, but I now have the critical point of view from which to continue to look at it.

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APPENDIX 1

EPISODES' PLOTS

TI CI PORTO IO

Episode 1

The first scene represents the yellow Fiat 500 (00.00.11) on a road among the trees. The first place they visit is Castle *Odescalchi*, a castle close to Bracciano (00.02.18) where many celebrities, such as Tom Cruise and Bernie Ecclestone, celebrated their weddings, as Vissani says. The two city-dwellers go to Castle Odescalchi to meet Sandra, who runs the castle. Sandra slowly goes down the long stairs of the castle in her long white dress to receive the presenters. Rocco ironically comments on Sandra's dress and asks if she is ready for the Red Cross ball (00.02.47; 00.03.06), Sandra pretends not to hear Rocco's words and goes on chatting with Vissani. Sandra accompanies the presenters around and summarises the history of the castle, built in 1470. After this, she introduces them to Andrea, a flower designer. Andrea teaches them how to create the right atmosphere at dinner. While Vissani is interested and nearly spellbound by the atmosphere, Rocco seems upset. At the end of the meeting, Sandra re-accompanies Vissani and Rocco to their car.

After this, the two presenters go to the lake of Bracciano and meet a fisherman that has caught a pike and an eel. Rocco is horrified by the still living eel (00.06.44). Vissani and a local chef cook the pike with raw fennel. Vissani disagrees with the chef because he uses flour (00.09.05). The chef answers that they have done it for 60 years. Vissani, instead, creates a pike and chickpea soup teaching the chef not to fry it (00.10.41). Rocco objects that if not fried, the result will be a dull, boiled dish (00.11.23), but Vissani strongly disagrees.

The Fiat 500 is once again among the Italian landscape. In the village of Sutri, an Italian tennis champion of the 1970s, Adriano Panatta, shows them the local monuments (00.18.55-00.20.35). Panatta introduces them to Franca (00.20.38), a really popular lady with Sutri inhabitants, because every year she prepares five quintals of *fagioli con le cotiche* (beans and pork rind) for the local festival. She explains how she copes with this challenging task, but when she reveals that actually she prepares beans and spices the day before the festival, Vissani reprimands her, as food should be prepared the same day it will be eaten (00.21.13). In the meantime, Panatta, while roasting sausages, tells Rocco that he is terrified by Vissani's strictness (00.24.30). Vissani warns Panatta that the sausage is burning, he says not, but actually the meat is burnt. Panatta accepts the fact that Vissani was right (00.24.40). On the other side of the kitchen, Vissani is telling Franca that she has done a good job but she should not put wine in the beans (00.24.47). When the dish is ready, they all eat.

After this, once again in their Fiat 500, the two presenters go to Di Vico lake. While

they are going through the countryside in their car, they come across a horse and cart on the same, narrow street (00.28.00). The presenters stop, get out and get to know the cart driver, Nello, who cultivates hazelnuts (00.28.13). Just then they realise that they are among hazelnut trees. Nello hints at the importance of hazelnuts in many fields. He can open hazelnuts with his teeth, a detail which terrifies both presenters (00.29.05). Nello makes Nellina, a hazelnut cream, a kind of local Nutella, one of the most popular Italian foods in the world that the presenters never mention. Nellina is not only good to eat, Nello says. At the end of the talk, in fact, Rocco goes with him on the cart, because there is a local spa that provides treatments with hazelnut for the skin. We spread Nellina everywhere, he says. Rocco seizes the opportunity to relax and after a couple of minutes the programme shows her with a beauty specialist who spreads the hazelnut cream on her feet, while romantic music helps Rocco relax (00.34.10). The two women discuss the healthy properties of hazelnuts, Vitamin E, and antioxidants, good for both skin and to eat. Meanwhile, Vissani, Nello and Nello's aunt Maria prepare a hazelnut and pear cake (from 00.31.47). Vissani tells Nello off because he uses powdered milk to prepare Nellina (00.33.24), which is named after Nello (00.36.02). Finally, Rocco joins them after the preparation of the cake (00.36.37) and only she eats the cake, liking it very much.

When in Viterbo (00.38.30) they split up, with Vissani going to the market and having an argument with a lady on how to clean artichokes (00.42.26). Additionally, Vissani does not recognise a vegetable and the lady teaches him its local name, saying that in Rome people can only dream of good vegetables like those (00.40.29). The lady says that Vissani is not such an expert (00.42.27). Rocco, in the meantime, meets the actor Antonello Fassari (00.39.12), who shows her some sights and explains historical details of the city. Here, Fassari says, the conclave originated. Cardinals did not manage to elect the new pontiff for two years, and the people of Viterbo locked them inside the palace forcing them to decide quickly.

Vissani joins Rocco and the actor Fassari at a traditional wine bar in the historical centre (00.43.10). The bar's owner is enthusiastic to meet Vissani, and Rocco introduces herself as Vissani's lover (00.43.31). They eat local salami and cheese (00.44.10) and drink local wine. They talk of regional local cuisines in Italy in the past and today's globalisation. Fassari says that all of his relatives are from different Italian regions (00.44.59) and this is why he knows many regional cuisines. Moreover, when he was young he was mostly a theatre actor and used to go around Italy with his travelling shows, finding a different cuisine in every Italian city. Today is different (00.46.10), he says, the real local cuisine is delivered just by expensive, luxury restaurants.

In the Etruscan Viterbo spa, the two presenters put their feet into the hot water and chat with the writer Mauro Galeotti, an expert in thermal water (00.48.34). Galeotti says that Viterbo's thermal water has healthy properties and helps dissolve minerals in the body. Thermal baths were popular among Etruscans, Romans and other peoples. Moreover, their hot water is good for cooking (00.49.40), being at 58° C. Vissani says that molecular cuisine cooks by low temperatures, but that cooking an egg takes 14 hours. Rocco had put an egg in the water before, saying that the heat would cook it, but when they open the egg, (00.50.47) it is totally raw. This is low temperature cuisine, a boiled egg in twelve hours, Vissani says. Michela loves

molecular cuisine but Vissani says that it takes time.

After this, the presenters go by car to the medieval village of Vitorchiano (00.53.16), and Rocco explains the village's history. They go into a shop in which two ladies prepare a local aniseed cake, *ciambelle* (00.55.12). The two presenters try to sell *ciambelle* door to door (00.56.56), to collect money to support the local festival and a local charity. After Vitorchiano, they go to a chestnut farm (01.01.17), and find that the trees are threatened by a pest, called *cinipide*, which is eating the fruit, leaves and branches of the trees. An association that organises cuisine courses runs the chestnut farm. A woman chef, Laura, is in charge of it and is teaching how to use chestnut flour. She welcomes Vissani, who helps her teach (01.03.16). The two chefs cook together with some problems. While cooking, Vissani smells the meat and says that the aroma is like a beautiful woman, that cuisine is like a woman, because you must wait for it/her.

The last stop is in Civita di Bagnoregio, a hamlet of about 10 permanent inhabitants which swells with tourists in summer, especially with Japanese, because it is the set of a Japanese cartoon (01.12.01). In Civita the presenters meet the psychoanalyst Paolo Crepet (01.08.19), who is very popular in Italy because he often explains on TV the dynamics that drive people to kill relatives. Looking at the main church from the bottom of the valley, Crepet says that this is the Italian Parthenon (01.08.37) and that places like Civita are Italy's real wealth (01.09.27), Italy not having industry but history and culture. The writer Marguerite Yourcenar, Crepet adds, said that she would like to live in two places in the world: New York and Civita di Bagnoregio (01.12.56). After this, they meet Tony (01.15.55), an American man who has been living in Civita for many years. He takes them to Angela, a lady who can make *pici*, a traditional kind of pasta. Angela makes *pici* and Rocco tries to do the same (01.16.45), but she cannot, and Vissani criticises her, repeating that she always wants to eat penne and ragout (01.17.18). They go to Tony's house. Vissani and Crepet prepare the sauce for the *pici* (01.18.19), it is one of Crepet's recipes. While Vissani and Crepet cook, Rocco picks herbs in the garden, but she confesses that she is not good at doing it. When Vissani starts moaning about Rocco's herbs, Crepet says that chefs are incurable (01.21.00.). Crepet wants to add wine to the sauce, Vissani disagrees but this time the chef accepts.

Vissani, Rocco, Crepet and Tony eat in the garden (01.23.47), and the episode finishes with Rocco asking Vissani where they are going to go. Vissani answers that they are going where the car goes. Images of their Fiat 500 close the episode (01.24.28).

Episode 3

Vissani and Rocco go to Apulia, in the south of Italy. The first stage is an olive field which is nine hundred year old (00.00.50). The owner of the field welcomes them dressed in suit and tie. Together, they sum up the history of olive in Apulia, from 5000 AC. (00.03.55). Vissani compares olive's pruning to women's hair, the trees renew their looks (00.02.30). Finally they celebrate olive as a peace symbol (00.04.50).

They go away, and when it is time to eat, Rocco would prefer a simple salad to traditional Italian dishes (00.05.13). They go to Alberobello, a town known in the world for *trulli*, the hold, stone houses from the 1600s. They meet a man who refurbishes *trulli* (00.07.25). He learnt to do it from old masters and are passing this job onto his son. After this, they find a mozzarella maker who makes mozzarella with the shape of various animals, for children (00.09.36).

The first guest is Attilio Romita, journalist of TV news (00.14.17). They together go to a restaurant kitchen and meet a chef (00.15.37). Michela and Vissani clean the turnips (00.16.10), Romita cooks and the chef looks at them. But when Vissani realises that they put tomatoes in this recipe, ha says that this is a blasphemy (00.18.14).

Vissani, in the same kitchen, prepares his recipe (00.20.10). He makes it with artistic movements, among the enthusiasm of all the present people. The next place is Altamura. They visit the Duomo (cathedral) and go around the town. After this, they go to a famous *focacceria* (00.26.33) that was open in front a fast food, to challenge American food. Even a film was shot on this story, *Focaccia Blues*, and the programme shows a few seconds of it. Rocco and Vissani eat focaccia and talk to the owner, who underlines that the film originated in the Salone del Gusto, a Slow Food festival in Turin (00.28.18).

They go to an old farm, once owned by the mafia and later confiscated and owned by the state (00.31.09). Vissani is a kind of honorary president, and once there he realises that the chef is elaborating his original recipes. Vissani is not happy about this. Then they go to Gravina, another historical town, and met a man selling vegetables (00.36.17). They buy herbs for stuffed lamb. They meet a young couple that invite them at home, to cook good food (00.37.50). Once at home, Vissani teaches young people how to cut an onion (00.40.59) and other cooking techniques.

In the meantime Rocco and the woman of the couple walk in the beautiful city centre (00.43.00 and 00.44.45).

The next town is Polignano, birthplace of the Italian singer Domenico Modugno (00.50.10). They go fishing on a boat with two fishermen (00.50.43) met 'by chance'. Finally, they go to cook the fish taken by the two young fishermen (00.56.02). Vissani is surprised that the chef is only 24 and continually corrects him and his assistants.

In the meantime, Rocco goes to an artisan (01.02.06), who makes glass objects, with stones and other natural materials. He recycles everything, and a lamp costs 5.000 euros.

After this, they go to Castellana caves (01.10.12), and Rocco goes there with speleologists (01.12.01), while Vissani uses an elevator. In the caves, theatre actors play Dante's Divina Commedia (01.14.02). Finally, they go to a restaurant which specialises in the production of Almond sweets (01.18.09).

Episode 5

The episode starts at a town called Sant'Agata dei Goti (00.01.41). the director of the tourist office explains history and architecture of the town (00.02.37). Vissani and

Rocco go to the local market (05.01) and see local products, buy something and discover that the price is very low. While they walk through the town, Rocco goes to a monastery when nuns live in seclusion. Rocco leaves vegetables behind the door of the monastery, she cannot enter and cannot see the nuns. In exchange she receives a giant host (00.07.03) and eats it along with Vissani.

They go to the wine cellar where Falanghina, one of the most famous Italian wines, was created (00.07.45), but Rocco prefers to walk in the sun (00.08.06) and Vissani alone goes down to the wine cellar.

Rocco meets Domenico De Masi, a popular Italian sociologist (00.10.07). De Masi grew up in this town, and explains that small towns such as Sant'Agata dei Goti have saved good relationships among people, fair values such as conviviality and beauty, while in other places industry has destroyed all of this. This is a town without industrialisation (00.10.53). They go to see the bells of the church (00.11.43), and ring them, and finally they see the panorama of the city from mount Taburno.

Vissani is in the wine cellar. He first meets a woman who is the daughter of the founder of the cellar, and second meets her mother (00.15.41), who is cooking with two assistants. The woman and Vissani have different opinion on how much parsley should be put (00.16.25), they discuss for long time (00.17.56), and in the end Vissani prevails (00.18.13).

In the meantime, Rocco and De Masi go around (00.25.29), and visit an old industrial building that produced electric power from turbines in 1901. De Masi underlines that the town produced power without depending on the central government.

The next stage of Vissani and Rocco is a bakery (00.29.15), where two sisters prepare *taralli*, Italian traditional flavoured biscuits. After this, they go in the countryside, and Vissani soon recognises that the fields that they are seeing are certainly places in which buffalo mozzarella is produced. Rocco only sees the rail (00.32.50). They follow the milk lorry (00.33.31) and arrive at a Buffalo ranch. They meet Manuela, the wife of the owner, who explains the history of Buffalo in Italy, which probably arrived in Italy with Hannibal (00.35.34). There are three volcanoes around, she explains, and Volcanoes are good for buffalos (00.36.15). They visit the building and see how mozzarella is made. After this, they go to a restaurant in Caserta, (00.42.49) and meet Rossana, a woman chef who is ambassador of buffalo mozzarella in the world. Rossana prepares tonkatsu, a Japanese dish that she prepares with fried mozzarella. Vissani says that it is like mozzarella in carrozza, an Italian dish, but Rossana says that it is different. Vissani finds mozzarella better when it is raw, and prepares a dish without cooking it. Rossana is Vissani's disciple and several times she calls him Master (00.43.32; 00.47.12; 00.49.32). Vissani jokes about the word tonkatsu (00.43.53; 00.47.25; and 00.48.07 along with Rocco) and suggests that mozzarella contains too much water, and therefore it needs draining (00.44.26). At the end of the preparation of tonkatsu, Vissani claps his hands, and Rocco appreciates the dish.

San Leucio is a town which is famous for silk. Vissani and Rocco visit a silk factory, and an expert explains that the factory was the residence of Borboni family. After this, they meet the comedian Biagio Izzo, who guides them through the medieval part of Caserta. They walk, and Rocco says that she is not superstitious, while Vissani and

Izzo believe superstitions (01.07.45). Finally, they go to visit Cinzia, one of the inhabitants of medieval Caserta (01.08.54).

After this, they go to a restaurant (01.10.50), and meet a female chef. They cook meat roll and at the end of the preparation Vissani assesses the dish and says that the chef is a special woman (01.14.25).

They go around the countryside and meet a man with sheep that seems to be a shepherd (01.20.07), but he actually is Manuel, the owner of a bed and breakfast, as the reading says. They go to Manuel's mother (01.20.50) and learn how to make *conciato*, which is milk treated and seasoned. This is a Slow Food presidio (01.21.40), the only in Caserta's area. They produce just for themselves scialatielli, a kind of pasta. Vissani meets two old ladies that make scialatielli (01.23.15), and a female chef, Eulalia, who prepares a sauce with pumpkin (01.22.30). Vissani helps her (01.25.58) while Rocco makes pasta with the old women. After a few minutes, the woman chef asks Vissani to make the final part of the preparation (01.27.07), and Vissani concludes the making of the sauce. He acts as an artist, with elegant gestures to make pasta. Finally, it is Vissani who decides how much pasta to put in the plates. Eulalia would like to add other pasta, but Vissani disagrees and decides on his owns (01.28.07). Finally, they eat together (01.29.42).

Episode 7

Vissani and Rocco are in Tuscany and go to Greve in Chianti (00.02.30) the town with the statue of the explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano. Leonardo Romanelli, gastronomist and critic, explains the history and architecture of the town. Vissani and Rocco go to a butcher's, (00.05.03) selling *chianina*, the most popular Italian meat. They also raise pigs (00.07.45), and Vissani and the butcher explain the characteristics of the Italian pig of *cinta*, which were in a painting of 1338 (00.08.35), but that according to the butcher were in Italy even before.

After this, Vissani and Rocco go to Verrazzano castle, and say that Verrazzano was eaten by cannibals (00.13.30). They meet the owner of the castle, young and elegant (00.15.04) and an English tourist guide, who has been living in Italy for 42 years. Rocco and the English guide walk in the park (00.19.23) and she explains many details on Italian history and culture. She arrived in Italy in 1970 to remain only 1 year, then he met a man, who now is her husband, and has remained in Italy since then. They talk of Verrazzano, who discovered New York (00.21.01).

Meanwhile, Vissani cooks *ribollita*, a Tuscan dish, along with the mother of the owner (00.22.44). The owner says that his mother is *ribollita* world champion (00.23.05) and is called by the mother 'amore'. Vissani jokes about this, saying that he is 60 (23.48). At the end of the preparation, Vissani creates a dish with *ribollita*, cooking as an artist and wearing a scarf.

The next stage is San Gimignano (00.33.05) and Vissani says that Americans copied it, in fact Manhattan is the modern San Gimignano. They meet an expert of food communication, Filippo, Bartolotta (00.35.32), who explains history and architecture of San Gimignano. Vissani goes to a saffron shop (00.38.30) and the owner explains that picking it up is very difficult, and this is the reason for its high price. After this,

Vissani meets the world champion cyclist Mario Cipollini (00.42.05), who is promoting a bike whose frame costs 5.500 euros. They join Rocco and the food expert (00.45.07) and together drink *vernaccia*, the first DOC wine in Italy, since the 1960s.

After this, Vissani cooks rabbit with *vernaccia*, with a lady who owns an agriturismo, and in the end they meet a man on a horse (00.55.15). He is a painter who picks up land that he uses to paint. They go to his lab and there they find the comedian David Riondino (00.57.19). He has written a theatre play on food, *cibus* (00.58.33) and explains the importance of meat in Tuscany. They go to the kitchen, where two men are preparing *soprassata*, mix of dead animals (01.00.22). *Soprassata* is Christian, says Riondino, because lasts will be first. They put in the *soprassata* also the ears of the animal, and Riondino says that the animal can hear them when they cook the dish.

The last destination is Certaldo, writer Giovanni Boccaccio's birthplace. After seeing a festival of street artists, they go to a cooking school in which lessons are in English, for American tourists (01.20.43). They are preparing onion jam, and after this Vissani prepares a dish with pumpkin and onion. They explain to the tourist that this onion cannot be found in the USA, and Vissani extolls the value of a slow cooking (01.25.40). He prepares 'artistically' the dish and they all eat it (01.27.25).

Episode 9

In the introduction, Vissani and Rocco are at the Gianicolo, one of the most popular view points of the city. Vissani says that Rome today is a multiethnic city (00.00.56), because there are people from Abruzzo, Veneto, and other Italian regions. They ask a passer-by where he is from, and he answers 'Sri Lanka' (00.01.10). Vissani, then, tells Rocco that in this episode she will see vegetables and spices from all over the world (00.01.27).

The two presenters split up, Vissani goes to the Jewish ghetto with the writer Valerio Massimo Manfredi, while Rocco meets the architect Massimiliano Fuksas at one of his most revolutionary creations, *la nuvola* (the cloud). Manfredi explains to Vissani the history of the *portico*, where the Romans showed the first map of the world. Manfredi also illustrates the classical architecture and the origins of the ghetto. Finally, they go to a ghetto shop that Vissani knows for their famous ricotta cheesecake.

Fuksas, instead, explains to Rocco the difference between ancient Rome and what he is doing. The programme shows the workers in this enormous building site and Fuksas illustrates all the parts of the future palace. They go up to 50 metres above the ground, and below them they just see a huge empty space.

In the meantime, Manfredi and Vissani eat the cheesecake on the streets of the ghetto. They talk about Jewish cuisine and list its rules, such as the pork ban and the particular way of slaughtering animals. When they try to get into a butcher's, the owner tells them that they cannot enter, because they are eating cheese, which contains milk, and milk and meat cannot stay close to each other in Jewish religious rules. Therefore, Vissani gives the cake as a present to a passer-by and the two men

enter the butcher's (00.12.25). The butcher explains that kosher slaughter and other food habits are not taboos, as Vissani said earlier, but religious rules. Vissani wants to buy good kosher meat, because, he says, he will meet a Jewish woman later, and in the end he gets a *chianina* kosher.

Rocco and Fuksas, in the meantime, go upstairs, into the cloud, where they can see many parts of Rome. In saying goodbye to Fuksas, Rocco says that she wants to go to Piazza Vittorio, to see the multiethnic Rome (00.16.01).

Vissani, wearing the Jewish hat just at the beginning of the scene, is in the house of a Jewish couple. They explain kippur, the fast that many Jews do once a year, to repent the sins they have committed. The woman prepares artichoke *a la giudia* (00.17.50), a classic of kosher cuisine. She explains all the stages of the preparation, while the man of the couple never cooks. Finally, Vissani cooks the *chianina* that he bought at the butcher's, with artichokes. Both members of the couple, in the end, eat Vissani's dish.

The next scene is set in Piazza Vittorio, the ethnic area of Rome. Rocco says that people that live here are Romans from all over the world (00.22.10). In the square, the presenters meet Mustafa, an Egyptian, who is a butcher in the market. Rocco says some words in Egyptian, while Vissani confesses that he has never been to Egypt, which he has only seen on postcards. Mustafa guides the two presenters through the market (00.24.10). Vissani is amazed by the many colours of fruit, vegetables, spices and herbs on display. Mustafa introduces them to another shop keeper in the market. He is also from abroad and illustrates what he sells: Chinese pears (00.25.05), manioca and sycamore fruit (00.25.19). No Italians are in the market, apart from the two presenters. Mustafa accompanies them, but in the end he goes away (00.27.45), because Vissani never decides what to buy and he is upset about this.

In the following scene, Vissani goes to a Chinese restaurant (00.29.10). In the kitchen, he meets Sonia, the Chinese owner, and a Chinese cook. There is also a third Chinese person in the kitchen, wearing classic (and stereotyped) Chinese clothes. Vissani finds out that he is Antonio Giuliani, an Italian (and Roman) comedian (00.29.26-00.29.50). Giuliani tells Vissani that he does not like part of the Chinese cuisine, as he does not like some Italian dishes. Sonia and the Chinese cook clean and prepare fathead minnow. The cook cuts up the fish, and Vissani and Giuliani find the practice very noisy. Giuliani says that after this cooking they will need an ENT specialist (00.31.01). They are visibly upset by the noise and by the fact that the cook does not speak Italian very well, and do not understand the name of the fish that they are cooking. When the dish is ready, Sonia tells them that they will eat it with chopsticks (00.33.10). Now Vissani and Giuliani are no longer in the kitchen, but in the restaurant, looking really embarrassed, while behind them groups of Chinese people are having their dinner (00.34.09). Sonia explains to Vissani and Giuliani how to use chopsticks. Giuliani says that it is as difficult as the Shanghai game (00.34.40), tries, fails and eventually manages. As Sonia goes away, Vissani takes a fork out of his pocket (00.35.20) and they both eat with the fork and double over laughing. At the end of the scene, Giuliani gives Vissani his Chinese hat and tells him to give it to Rocco, as a present.

Rocco, on one of the bridges in Rome, meets Massimo Wertmuller, an Italian actor that she has not seen for twelve years. They walk through the city, and Wertmuller

explains historical details of bridges and monuments. Vissani, instead, goes to Roscioli, one of the most popular bakeries in Rome, set in the famous square of Campo de' Fiori (00.39.46). The bakery's owner, Fabrizio Roscioli, shows Vissani how to make the perfect *bignè* (cream puff). Rocco arrives (00.45.05) and eats many of them while Vissani gives her the Chinese hat. She puts it on and pretends to speak Chinese.

After this, Vissani and Rocco go around Campo de' Fiori (00.46.46). Vissani goes to the market that occupies a large part of the square, while Rocco sits at a bar. Here, a mysterious man offers her a glass of wine. In few seconds he reveals himself as the comedian Dario Cassini (00.47.32). Meanwhile, Vissani at the market finds that women buy vegetables already cleaned, and a man selling vegetables tells him that this happens either because they are not able to clean vegetables, or because they do not want to.

While Rocco and Cassini chat to each other and drink wine, Vissani and a shop keeper compete at cleaning two artichokes, and Vissani, when loses, accuses the man of cheating, because he has chosen an easier artichoke to clean. Moving away from the market, Vissani joins Rocco and Cassini at the bar (54.40).

After saying hello to Cassini, Vissani meets the gastronome Luigi Cremona on one of the bridges of Rome. Cremona explains artistic details of that area of Rome, and, along with Vissani, goes to a very famous restaurant, *Checco er Carrettiere* (Checco the cart driver), where they meet the owner, Stefania (00.58.33). The woman explains how to prepare *coda alla vaccinara* (bovine tail). Stefania explains that this is an example of working class cuisine, and Cremona adds that it is also good, not only cheap. Stefania says that they always use olive oil and never butter, she even denies knowing what butter is (01.00.32). She cooks and precisely lists all the stages of the complex process, which lasts more than four hours. Cremona asks Vissani how a modern chef like him would modify this dish (01.02.38). Vissani answers that he would add foam of grappa to the *coda*, and with the same tomato sauce prepared by Porcelli he would draw little points on the meat to make the dish similar to a Mirò painting. Shortly after, however, when it comes to Vissani preparing his dish, he does not cook what he had promised before, the Mirò meat, but just a boiled egg cooked in the water that Porcelli had used before to cook celery.

The last scene of the episode is set in one of the most luxury of Rome's hotels, the Hassler. Rocco is enjoying the view from the terrace and Vissani joins her (01.07.46). This is a place for you, Vissani says, I like simple things... She tells him off because he should not have taken a poor dish like *coda alla vaccinara* into such a lavish place. As she sees the tail, however, she changes her mind, and together they eat *coda alla vaccinara* with champagne, mixing high and low products.

Episode 12

The region that Vissani and Rocco visit in this episode is Trentino Alto Adige, in Northern Italy. The first town is San Candido, near Lavarredo, where they meet a local writer, who explains the history and the monuments of the town. While they are walking through San Candido, they meet an elegant man on a horse and cart. He is

the owner of Bad Moos (00.05.13), a thermal place, and he invites them to go there on the horse and cart. Bad Moos is a thermal place since the 1700s, and in the kitchen (00.07.26) they meet a young chef. He is really shy, and Rocco jokes about this (00.08.09). He has a German name, and while they prepare breakfast, Vissani and Rocco joke about his name, calling him Smart. Rocco goes to a spa to have a bath of hay (00.11.54), which is good to soothe muscles ache. In the meantime, Vissani goes to a cheese maker to see how he prepares the *grigio*, a traditional cheese of Trentino Alto Adige (00.13.30). The cheese maker explains all the stages necessary to prepare this cheese, and in the end eats it along with Vissani.

Later, Vissani and Rocco go to Dobbiaco (00.20.34), and meet the members of the local town band, who explain the history of the band, born in the 1800s. One of the typical foods of this area are potatoes, and they go visits a potato grower (00.22.26). He explains that he has many friends who are climbers and travel around the world. He asks them to take him potatoes from Tibet, Sweden, and other places. He mixes several types of potatoes and obtains new types of potatoes, with various shapes and colours, all natural. This is in fact a biodynamic farm, and the farmer explains how it works. He uses cow excrements to enrich the land.

After this, Vissani goes to a restaurant (00.25.48), and Rocco experiences a flight with a balloon (00.26.29). Vissani assists the chef while he prepares a local dish, *rosticciata* (00.28.52). Rocco joins them after the flight and they together dance in the restaurant after dinner (00.34.09). When they go around, they meet the writer and climber Mauro Corona (00.36.15). Rocco and Corona climb (00.37.25), while Vissani visits another restaurant to make *canederli*, another local food (00.41.53). Again, Rocco joins them and eats with them.

In the Fiat 500, Rocco studies German (00.47.55), because she finds that many people in that area do not speak Italian but only German. In Brunico they visit a beer maker (00.49.13), and taste many kinds of local beer. When Rocco sees the photos of the local hockey players, and meets one of them in the bar, she decides to attend their training (00.52.22). Vissani, instead, goes with the owner of a *maso* (00.56.18), which is a rural house typical of this area. Finally, they go to a restaurant to eat *gulasch* (01.01.15). Vissani and the male chef prepare *gulasch* with venison, while Rocco and the owner of the restaurant visit a *maso* (01.05.21). At the end of the preparation, Rocco tastes *gulasch* and finds it very good.

Episode 14

The episode is set in Sicily, and the first stage is Agrigento and its Temple valley (00.00.51). Vissani and Rocco meet a horse and cart (00.01.30), on which a man and a woman are celebrating their wedding, wearing traditional clothes. Rocco is sceptical about marriage and says that thankfully there is divorce (00.03.36). After this, Rocco goes in search of sweet couscous, while Vissani goes to see how to make cavatelli (00.04.33). Rocco is at a medieval monastery where nuns make sweet couscous (00.07.08). She enters (00.07.25) but cannot go beyond a certain point. Nuns here make sweet couscous, with a secret recipe, just for themselves, but give leftovers to other people. Rocco takes it and go back to join Vissani.

The two presenters go to Mazara del Vallo (00.14.19), the place where couscous is very popular. They go to the fish market (00.14.40). and meet the comedian Giovanni Cacioppo (00.18.06). Cacioppo explains that this is a land of immigration, and that youngsters do not want to be fishermen. The comedian talks about the importance of the second generation of immigrants.

Vissani is with a local chef, who says that couscous has Arabic origins (00.20.20). Rocco and Cacioppo go to the casbah of Mazara (00.22.25) they meet a man, Ali, who is a second generation immigrant. At the end of the scene they go to smoke with Ali (00.27.56) and say that Ali is half Sicilian.

Meanwhile, Vissani prepares a dish starting from couscous. Rocco and Cacioppo get lost in the casbah (00.29.14), a girl helps them and disappears.

The next stage is Marsala, the city of the famous wine and of Florio family. They go to Casa Florio, where there are the famous Florio wine cellars (00.32.29), and the head of PR of the company talks to them. Florio was the wine cellar of Italy's unification, from Garibaldi to the king Vittorio Emanuele III, to Mussolini.

They go to the kitchen of Casa Florio, Vissani meets a Sicilian chef (00.35.48), who prepares fish. They cook with a musical soundtrack. Rocco talks to the head of Florio PR (00.39.58), she shows a bottle from 1889 (00.40.40), whose label explains how the wine must be consumed and its dosage with the same language adopted by the labels of medicines.

Later, in their Fiat 500 they go to Mozia, on a street built in the fourth century. They see a man walking on the water (00.42.55), like Jesus, Vissani says. They are on a salt flat (00.45.41), and the man tells them where to go. Vissani and Rocco meet Antonio, who is 31, the seventh generation of the family owning the salt flat. Rocco finds him handsome and rich... He explains how saltworks work and explains why salt picked up by hand is better than the industrial. They go to the top of the mill and see a wonderful sunset (00.51.55).

They go to another mill with a kitchen school inside (00.55.18). The teacher explains how to make *caponata*, one of the most popular Sicilian dishes. He says that every ingredient comes from Sicily. The chef and Vissani say that in Sicily in each city *caponata* is different, but Rocco is sceptical of this (00.57.30).

The last stage of their trip is Erice (01.01.56). A passer-by offers them typical bread (01.03.55). They go to eat *genovesi*, which are Sicilian sweets made by Maria Gramatico (01.06.17). She learnt how to make them from nuns, in a college (01.07.12) when she studied when she was a child. Maria escaped from nuns and started working. Nuns did not give away the recipe, but Maria tried to make them, and in two years managed to do Genovesi. Vissani and Rocco eat *genovesi* on the beautiful terrace overlooking the sea.

Episode 16

In this episode, Vissani and Rocco are in Milan. They visit the *Duomo* (the cathedral) and its building site that has never closed (00.02.31), because works never stops. Rocco goes up with an elevator and sees a wonderful view. Vissani talks to Claudio Monti, architect (00.03.37), who explains that the *Duomo* is the biggest church in

Italy, apart from Vatican. He says that for the last four or five years Milan has been changing its skyline, because of the many new skyscrapers. Rocco meets the journalist Gad Lerner (00.10.49). They go to Villa Necchi, the house of one of the most important capitalist families in Milan before WWII, while Vissani is in the kitchen of the famous restaurant The Four Seasons (00.11.24), where 30 cooks are cooking and Sergio, the chef, is preparing *cassoeula*, the most famous Milanese dish. Vissani helps Sergio, who says that he likes cooking for other cooks (00.14.15). In the meantime, Rocco and Lerner meet Lucia Borromeo (00.16.20), one of the members of FAI, an organisation that defends the monuments of Italy. Lerner remembers that when he was young he participated in demonstrations against Villa Necchi and the Necchi family. They extoll the importance of the famous industrial families of Milan in those years. Close to Villa Necchi there is family Invernizzi villa, with flamingos, Villa Crespi and other houses of capitalist families of the past. Lerner says that he would live there. At the end of the scene, Rocco joins Vissani and the chef in the kitchen of The Four Season (00.20.45).

After this, Rocco goes shopping and meets Enzo Miccio, a wedding planner and shopping assistant famous for his shows on TV (00.26.14). She tries many dresses and cannot walk on high heels (00.27.17). Also Vissani goes shopping in via Montenapoleone, the trendiest street in Milan (00.28.26). He buys red shoes in a shop that makes tailored shoes, and also did it for the writer Gabriele D'Annunzio and the actor Marcello Mastroianni.

In the following scene, Vissani and Rocco want to explain what the *aperitivo* actually is. The *aperitivo* is a Milanese invention consisting of drinking and eating light food from 7.00pm onwards, while chatting about free time and business. They meet Roberto Piccinelli (00.33.45), defined as 'sociologist of pleasure', who explains that the *aperitivo* in Milan serves the purpose of socialising. Vissani goes to the kitchen of the bar to find out what foods there are in their *aperitivo* (00.35.12). Vissani tastes a cocktail, but he dislikes it and says that it tastes like naphthalene (00.37.20). After this, he goes to the *Salumaio di via Montenapoleone*, (00.38.01), where the owner explains that in 1957 his father opened a butcher's in the trendiest street of the city among the protests of fashion designers and shop owners.

Later, Vissani goes to a restaurant to explain how to cook the typical cotoletta (00.40.07). A male chef prepares it with a musical soundtrack. A producer of goose's liver explains the importance of this product (00.44.10), and Vissani prepares a dish with it, with musical soundtrack.

Rocco goes to the *Arco della Pace* and Sempione Park (00.48.21), and meets a journalist which defines himself a 'shabby chic'. In the meantime, Vissani is shopping on the *Naviglio*, one of the two, narrow, rivers in Milan (00.51.13). Rocco embarks on the boat and they are joined by the Milan Monkeys, boys who practice parkour. At the end of the scene, Vissani and Rocco go to the kitchen where the famous and young chef Davide Oldani is cooking the *risotto alla milanese*. He does not want to call his dish risotto, just saffron with rice (00.58.32). Oldani explains that he only uses seasonal, local products, and explains how to cook these dishes. Dario is his personal provider of saffron (01.01.05). Dario is a young architect and a small saffron producer. He is the first producer in Milan, and explains that saffron costs 20.000 euros each kilo. At the end of the scene, Vissani and Rocco taste the rice and

find it very good (01.06.07).

Episode 18

In the brief introduction, Vissani and Rocco talk about Verona, Rocco's hometown. The episode starts with the Fiat 500 on Verona's streets. Vissani and Rocco go to Soave (02.35) where a journalist, Lucia Vesentini, shows Vissani the city's ancient monuments (03.44), Scaligeri Castle (03.50), and the ancient wall, built in 1369. Vissani meets Attilio (04.20), the president of the association of the wine producers of Soave. Attilio talks about Soave wine, famous since the middle ages, and also quoted in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

In the mean time, Rocco meets Rocco Anselmi, a wine producer (05.38). They go in a helicopter to see from above vineyards, Verona and Lake Garda. Anselmi explains that the kind of grape that gives this special wine is called '*la Garganega*', and is specific to this Italian area.

Vissani is in a rice field (08.22), where he meets Gabriele Ferron, a chef and rice producer. Ferron is wading in the water and is throwing seeds all around him. He wears a big hat, suspenders, a colourful shirt, and continuously talks about the rice that he produces, called *Vialone Nano*. Vissani asks whether this is the same technique used by the Chinese, and Ferron answers that it is (09.41). Ferron also puts carp in the water, because carp eliminate weeds and parasites. Before harvesting the rice, he says, they also catch the carp.

Vissani and Ferron go to see the entire process of production of the rice. This happens in a building called *la pila* (10.35), the place where Ferron's family has worked the rice since 1650. Here, a really simple machinery removes the external skin of the rice, and Ferron underlines that the method has always been the same since 1650. Ferron calls his son and nephew (12.05), and the three Ferrons demonstrate how rice is sifted. There are various sieves that discard the rice which is either too big or too small. What remains is the good *Vialone Nano*.

In the meantime, Rocco and the wine producer Anselmi have come back from the helicopter tour. They are in the wine cellar, (13.55), and he says that 700.000 bottles are produced there each year. The cellar is really luxurious, with red sofas, low lights, and a romantic atmosphere underlined by the music of the programme. They sit on a sofa and drink wine. After this, Rocco wants to take the helicopter to join Vissani again, but Anselmi says that the helicopter is not there any more (15.05), and suggests that Rocco take a bus to go back. Rocco seems unpersuaded at all about this choice.

Vissani and Ferron are in the kitchen (15.17). Ferron is preparing his *Vialone Nano* with a vegetable broth and explains the exact technique to make it, by softly stirring the rice, in order not to lose the starch. He also cuts some lard, fries it and puts it in the rice. This is how our grandmothers did it, Ferron says. He turns off the flame and puts a towel on the pan, covering the towel with the lid. The rice is ready, it is called *Riso alla Pilota*, because *pilota* is the person working in the *pila*.

Rocco goes by bike through the countryside (19.53), she says that she did not want to take the bus and seized the opportunity to see the countryside from another

perspective. She arrives in the kitchen (20.05), and eats the rice along with Vissani, finding it to be better than Vissani's rice dishes.

The Fiat 500 is on the road again (22.11). Rocco feels at home and calls his friends. Vissani is clearly jealous, and asks Rocco to talk to him, without chatting to other people. When Vissani sees a field of poppies, he stops and picks a flower for her. At the end of the scene, Rocco runs through the flowers (22.54).

They go to Verona, and Vissani parks the Fiat 500 in the centre of the square. Rocco tells him off, saying that he cannot do it and that Verona is not Baschi, which is the small village in which Vissani was born (23.53). She tells him that Piazza delle Erbe is one of the best places in Italy (24.08), Vissani answers that the best Italian square is in Todi, close to his birthplace. Rocco explains that Piazza delle Erbe is a Roman heritage, there is also the ancient Roman forum. Rome has the Colosseum, she says, and Verona has the *Arena*, which is the famous classical amphitheatre of the city.

Vissani and Rocco meet Mario Santini, an architect and Rocco's friend (24.35). He is really elegant and Vissani makes sarcastic remarks about his clothes. Rocco leaves them both and goes away (25.11). Santini illustrates the historical details of the buildings and Dante's statue, the only Italian statue of Dante in which the poet is portrayed with a 'normal' nose, not so big as in other representations.

Rocco, meanwhile, has reached the house of Giulietta (26.30), the female character of *Romeo and Juliet*, the Shakespeare drama set in Verona. She explains that people may get married there. Allowed by the city council, Rocco, wearing the official garb of the Italian flag, officiates a wedding between two Polish citizens. She explains that every year around 100 couples get married in Giulietta's house. When Rocco reads the names of the two Poles, she cannot pronounce them well, but finally she declares them husband and wife (28.16). Outside of the building, the programme shows images of many couples below the balcony. When Vissani arrives, Rocco leans over the balcony, citing the famous Shakespeare verses but changing something (Gianfranco, Gianfranco, why must you be Gianfranco...) and also proposes that Vissani marry someone else (29.14).

Vissani goes to Verona's fruit and vegetable market, meets its director (29.27), and a producer of the white asparagus. Rocco, instead, goes to an ice cream shop, run by Marco Savona (31.46). Savona allows her to follow the process of production of *la mattonella* (the tile), her favourite ice cream. At the end of the preparation, she eats *la mattonella* freshly taken out from the ice cream maker (34.27).

Vissani meets the chef Fabio Tacchella. He is preparing the *bollito misto*, an Italian dish made with many cuts of boiled meat. The meat he is preparing is already cut. He puts an entire capon in the pan, without head and tail, a *cotechino* (pork sausage) and a *testina di vitella* (35.44), which is the head of the calf, that the show presents in its soft version, a sausage with the head's meat inside. In the end, the chef also adds the tongue and the marrow, but these pieces too are not visible to the audience, because filmed too briefly and from too long a distance.

In the meantime, Rocco meets the actor Jerry Calà (37.30), who tells the story of his group of comedians born and raised in Verona, and says to Rocco that he has a restaurant, inviting her and Vissani.

After leaving Calà, Rocco joins Vissani just in time to eat the *bollito misto* (39.41). The chef Tacchella cuts all the pieces and puts small portions of many types of meat

on a plate. Vissani and Rocco eat them and find the dish delicious.

After this scene, Vissani and Rocco go to Calà's restaurant in their Fiat 500 (44.36). Calà sings, and Vissani, Rocco and the restaurant's customers dance. A big outdoor barbecue provides many kinds of meat. Vissani rebukes the chef because he is doing something wrong, and hits him on his back (47.15), explaining how to do it right. The cook, ironically, says that Vissani is a good and well-prepared cook (47.30). Then Vissani finds a *scottona* (47.35), and explains that it is the meat of a young female bovine who has never been pregnant. For this reason, this meat is particularly tender. Among the costumers in the restaurant, there are people that practise paragliding, and Rocco goes with them, leaving the restaurant. She flies above Verona with an expert that illustrates the parts of the city and of the countryside that they are hovering over (50.36).

The last kitchen visited by Vissani is Giorgio's, a chef who cooks fathead minnow. Giorgio introduces Vissani to his two assistants, Gianni and Sceriffo (which in Italian means 'sheriff') (51.25). Vissani asks why they call this man *Sceriffo*, and Giorgio answers that his real name is Sharif, and they call him *Sceriffo*, italianising his name. Giorgio prepares *agoni*, a kind of fish that he fries in a pan. Vissani suggests how to do it, disagreeing with Giorgio on some points but praising him in the end. A sommelier enters and suggests what to drink with this type of fish.

Vissani does not eat the fish but takes it with him, and says goodbye to all three. The last scene of the episode, and also of the series, sees Vissani in a beautiful residence on the lake. A caption informs the audience that this residence has housed many important people throughout history. Vissani eats Giorgio's fish and drinks white wine (56.55). Rocco is still flying with the paraglider. After landing (57.27), Rocco joins Vissani (57.42), and they eat Giorgio's fried fish together. While eating, they remember all the regions that they have visited thanks to the show (58.20). We are a strange couple (58.32), she says. They drink to the beautiful places they have visited and Vissani says that travelling is wonderful. Eating is wonderful too, adds Rocco. While the credits scroll, Rocco again recalls all the strangest things that they have done over the eighteen episodes.

JAMIE'S GREAT BRITAIN

Episode 1

The episode starts with a sort of introduction in which the army truck is pictured in a long shot on a winding road among the British landscape. Oliver says that he will search for good food in his own country, the 'scary, gorgeous, crazy island called Britain' (00.12), and that he wants to scratch under the surface to really understand his country and its culture, 'both old and new' (00.17), the classic British and the new wave of immigration, heading 'north, west, south and east' (00.34).

He announces that in the series he will cook British dishes but also describe foreign

influences (00.47). He takes as an example an apple pie. It is not British, because its ingredients, apple and cinnamon, and the idea of the pie itself actually come from other countries (01.13). But 'it's ours now' (01.30), he concludes.

The first stage of his travel is the East End of London, where many immigrants (and even Oliver's family) arrived many years ago. Oliver shows the viewer the local market and its multicultural people (02.37–02.48). As in a running commentary, Oliver in White Cross street ('where I used to live', he says) pretends to be in the East End during the Industrial Revolution, in a land of prostitution and gambling, in which food has always been fundamental for immigrants, food being a 'representation of immigration' (03.04–03.55). Oliver finds that the quintessential British food, fish and chips, is not British but Jewish (03.46). The East End has always been a land of immigration, for the Jews, French, Bangladeshis, Italians and other peoples. Jumping ahead to the twentieth century, Oliver explains how Vietnamese people found refuge in London to escape the Vietnam war (04.03). Today they form a big community in London, and at the market Oliver meets two Vietnamese girls that sell their traditional food (04.24). They explain the French influence on Vietnamese food (04.54), because France colonised Vietnam in the mid-1800s. Oliver is really friendly and direct with the girls: 'Baby, give me your chilli', (05.27) he says to them in ordering a Vietnamese 'creolised' sandwich, which he defines a proper Vietnamese-French sandwich in England (06.03). Oliver offers the sandwich to an elderly passer-by (06.14), and she appreciates it. The woman compliments the girls on the sandwich but they cannot understand her 'ancient' English, so Oliver translates her words.

After this, Oliver goes to a street where one of his ancestors lived and owned some pubs (06.59). He goes to *The Ten Bells* (07.28), a historical pub whose owner shows him old photos HOW OLD of the area (08.39).

After this, Oliver prepares fresh oysters, with a sauce of tomatoes, vegetables and a Bloody Mary (09.30–13.47), cooking in a tough way and cleaning his ear with his finger (10.12) and handling food a few seconds later. While preparing the dish, Oliver complains that once oysters were for people from all classes, whereas now they are just for the rich.

The next scene starts with Oliver in the army truck talking about the foreign influences on the British pie (14.19), and the differences among the various national versions. He goes to a family-run pie and mash shop (15.02) and eats one of the pies prepared by a woman, finding it delicious. He interviews the woman that runs five pie shops but has decided to close down the one they are in, after five generations (16.01). He also interviews her daughter, who seems to accept the closure.

After this, he celebrates one of the most popular street foods, the hamburger, made and sold in the Meat Wagon Burger van, in London still. Oliver tells the multicultural history of the hamburger, from Germany to America to Russia, and so on (17.04–17.49). Oliver and the man who prepares them explain how hamburgers are made and cooked. In the meantime, in front of the van, trendy Londoners eat their hamburgers chatting to each other.

In the kitchen of his army truck, in front of a stone oven, Oliver prepares the Kate and Will's Wedding Pie, dedicated to Prince William and Kate Middleton (21.12), still not married at the time of the programme. Oliver illustrates the recipe in a very

detailed way, by showing all the ingredients and explaining the various stages. At the end of the preparation, he makes the RAF wings, the symbol of the RAF, and a crown with the dough and puts them on the top of the pie. While Oliver eats the pie, he underlines that the pie will show its 'bright place' in British food history (27.12) and that other people will follow Kate and Will and will get married in the same period (27.35).

In the following scene Oliver goes to Essex. When people travel, he says, their cultures, traditions, and foods travel with them (28.47). Essex is the land of his family and Oliver reveals the exact place where he was conceived, Southend pier. The programme shows photos of the young Jamie Oliver at the beach. 'The epicentre of Essex' (29.16), as Oliver defines it, is a sort of theme park with the longest pier in the world (29.35). Oliver remembers his first car, a Ford Fiesta that he transformed as people from Essex are used to doing, and other details of his past, first of all the food he ate when he was young, from candy floss to Italian ice creams. He goes to the River Blackwater (30.10), where one of his friends, a fisherman called Ben, collects scallops and supplies the best restaurants in London. They go for scallops, a good food, because 'they are high in protein and low in fat' (30.50). The next recipe is, for him, nostalgic and related to his past. It is time to prepare Leigh On Sea Sole With Shellfish (33.40), a dish that 'brings back childhood memories'. He cooks and eats it alone in the kitchen of his army truck, like he did with the 'Royal' pie. During the preparation, he realises that there is something wrong. 'Because I'm a muppet, I forgot my lid' (35.18), he says. So, he puts a newspaper on the pan, to replace the lid. In the following scene (39.01), Oliver is on the beach with his parents and grandmother, and the programme shows old photos of Oliver and parents on the beach when he was young. Now, he wears a shirt with horizontal stripes and shorts, like a sailor or a boy, but jokes on the ridiculous swimming trunks that covered his genitalia when he was young. He asks his mother to look down 'the barrel of the camera' and to confess where he was conceived. After this, he prepares a Baked Sea Bass on BBQ (39.38). When the sea bass is ready (42.52), he eats the cheek of the fish with his hands and serves the fish to his parents, celebrating local foods, while old photos show him and his family in the past.

Episode 3

The first image is the army truck in the countryside (00.00). 'I will show you foreign influences' that have affected British food culture, Oliver says (00.37), underlining how British food culture is based on an incredible food legacy from various peoples (01.30).

The first place that Oliver visits is Christine's home. Christine is a Welsh woman that prepares a traditional Welsh breakfast for him, which includes seaweed, a typical Welsh coastal food. Oliver underlines that this strong breakfast was really useful in the past for the miners (03.40). Mines were really important for the Welsh, and Oliver highlights the fact that in the late 1800s South Wales was flooded with Italian miners (04.30), that participated in the industrial boom of the country.

To pay homage to the contribution of the Italians to the Welsh coal boom and to the

development of a new Welsh food culture, Oliver goes to Villa Tambini, close to Cardiff, where Franco and many of his relatives warmly welcome him around their table. Oliver says that, in the end, the Italians revolutionised British tea time (05.00) with their dishes. To celebrate the Italian cuisine, in the Tambini's kitchen Oliver and a woman cook porcini mushrooms (06.10) and, after them, ravioli and a porcini tomato sauce. The Tambinis tell Oliver that their grandfather worked in the COAL mines (07.15). At the end of the preparation, Oliver eats at the table with many of the members of the family (07.30), laughing and joking with them.

In the following scene, Oliver is alone in the kitchen of his army truck. The room is very dark, and he cooks another Italian dish, a rabbit *bolognese*. A whole rabbit without head is on the table (09.20), Oliver puts it in an old, dark pan, adds 'plenty, plenty plenty of pepper' (11.10) and cooks it really slowly for twelve hours. The day after the scene is very bright: Oliver is outside of the army truck, on a green field in the sun. He opens the lid and shows his rabbit *bolognese*. Oliver explains that the 'classic' bolognese, from the Italian city Bologna, is different, and that this is 'from me, from Britain' (13.10). With no other people around him, Oliver drains pasta explaining how to do it (15.00) and staining his trousers (15.35), arguing that his mistake is not very professional and no 'cheffy'. In the end, he eats the dish and considers the dish that he has cooked, penne and bolognese sauce, as 'good, nice, simple and cheap' (16.00).

After this, Oliver repeats that Wales was flooded with many Italians in the second part of the nineteenth century, and that the Italians and the Welsh have shared a common past, that of the mines. Italian ice cream is one of the most popular dishes that the Italians brought to Wales, and Oliver goes to an Italian bar where he meets the owner, the last heir of the Moruzzi family. Actually, he is Welsh (18.26) and speaks English without any Italian accent. However, he continues the family's tradition making an ice cream that Oliver defines as 'Italian-Welsh' (20.39).

After this, Oliver cooks the 'Dragon Artic Roll' (20.51), called 'dragon' because it is from Wales. He cooks it alone in a bright, modern home-kitchen, with a technological ice cream maker. He adds lovely Welsh jam to the dish (23.00), which he defines as "really simple, nothing cheffy" (22.25). After the preparation, he eats the roll in front of the sea (24.52), in a really sunny place that resembles Italy, and, while eating, he says 'I love the Italians' (25.18).

In the following scene, Oliver in the army truck says that, besides the Italians, more recently many other peoples from all over the world have brought gorgeous food to Wales (26.15). Oliver is in front of a lot of graffiti, drawn by different ethnic groups speaking 'more languages than we can believe' (26.30). Among them, Oliver cites the Spanish, Jews, Somali, and Yemeni (27.00), and says that, in today's Cardiff, all of them are represented by their second generations (27.10). He pays a visit to a Yemeni community (27.41), where women try to save Yemeni food traditions (28.00). For the Yemenis, lamb is one of the most important foods, because this animal is fit to live in the mountainous Yemeni landscape. Oliver explains that they use all of the parts of the animal, not wasting anything (28.15). A group of women, wearing their traditional clothes, prepare what Oliver considers a sort of bread, transparent to the point that the light filters through it. They prepare this pancake in a pan, and add various sauces and chilli. Oliver praises the hotness of the dish, and to compliment

them on the dish, he gives one of the women a 'high five' (29.50). At the end of the cooking, Oliver and the women pose for a collective photo (30.10). Oliver tries to cook the Yemeni pancake guided by the women, and in the end he succeeds.

However, to better explain how lambs are raised, Oliver goes to the Welsh countryside, because the country is famous for its good lambs (31.07), which have an 'incredible flavour' (31.10), and is fundamental in the kitchens of the Mediterraneans, the Yemenis and others communities. On a sunny day, he cooks Sizzling Lamb Lollipop on a BBQ. He is alone in the countryside, cooking the lamb among the smoke and, finally, he defines the Yemenis as 'brothers and sisters' (36.50).

The last scene of the episode sees Oliver and a group of fishermen going fishing on a boat (38.50). They catch a lobster and Oliver gets it in his hands. He says that two hundreds years ago, the lobster was the food of locals, and that after this it became pricey. While on the beach, Oliver cooks lamb and lobster together (38.54). It is a sunny day and other people are walking on the beach behind him while he cooks under the blue sky (40.16). In concluding the episode, he says "we are open minded, embracing of other cultures" (45.10), but also 'proud to be British' (46.00).

Episode 6

In the introduction, Oliver says 'many dishes have a distinct colourful past (00.37), I am learning it' and that his journey is in Scotland, where people are proud of their 'independent traditions'. But even here, Oliver says, there is a lot of foreign food (02.30), and 'if it is good, is ours' (01.02). The images, in the meantime, show fry ups put in a newspaper. Oliver starts his journey from Glasgow, 'a brilliant city' (03.00), to learn how the most Scottish traditional food, the haggis, is reinvented (03.07). He goes to the oldest restaurant in the city (03.36), where the owner prepares the haggis by starting from the whole dead lamb put on the table (03.34 and 03.43).

The haggis is a Viking dish, Oliver says, but the restaurant's owner prepares it adding Indian spices. The owner puts the entire, dead animal on the table, cuts it into pieces and pulls out the internal organs (03.58), and the programme shows the whole process, which Oliver finds similar to an autopsy (04.34). Oliver cuts kidneys, liver and other internal organs into even smaller pieces and puts them in a pan. But the owner's secrets are the Indian spices (05.04). Oliver explains that this is a poor dish that the rich took hold of in the past (05.40). The owner defines it as a 'national dish' (05.50).

The second stage of Oliver's journey is the river Clyde, where communities from all over the world live close to each other. Oliver meets a fisherman, Hector Stewart, and his family (07.02). Oliver goes with him and his son in search of scallops. After this, Oliver cooks 'seared scallops with crispy black pudding and creamy clapsnot' on the boat. Around him, sailors and fishermen watch him cooking and frying scallops in the butter, while the fisherman's son helps Oliver cook.

At the end of this scene, Oliver cooks 'Scottish Potato Scones' in his kitchen in the army truck (12.36), also adding Scottish salmon to the dish (15.50). This is, for him, the 'classic brunch' (16.02). After this, Oliver goes on what he calls 'the Viking super highway' (16.26), along the western coast of Scotland. As the army track goes, the

camera focuses on the British flag stuck on the army truck. Oliver explains how Vikings exploited Scottish produce, despite the harsh life.

He goes to Striven, and in the countryside, close to a lake, he meets a man that smokes herring and other kinds of fish (17.04). The programme shows the process of smoking in a very detailed way. The Vikings discovered it (18.20), but the Scottish refined the technique (19.20), Oliver explains. The man represents the fifth generation of smokers in his family, as they started their business in the mid-1700s. He explains to Oliver how to smoke fish, and Oliver cooks outside, close to the lake, the Scottish version of a French classic, *MacMoule mariniere* (20.42). Oliver adds whisky to the dish (22.12) for the sense of perfume, cuts bread and puts it on the barbecue, and, when the dish is ready, spreads butter and says that this is 'Huckleberry Finn stuff' (23.43).

In the following scene, Oliver explains that the Scottish learned to dry food for conservation from the people of the Middle East. Oliver meets a group of people (25.50), among them a woman who cooks cloutie dumplings. After the preparation, all the friends and Oliver eat together (28.10). After this, inspired by the cloutie dumplings, Oliver cooks the Ecclefechan tart in his mobile kitchen, adding whiskey (29.42 and 33.33). In preparing the tart, which is a traditional Scottish dried fruit dessert, Oliver suggests how to work the dough. When the tart is ready, he adds dried fruit (31.40) and cream. Oliver eats it along with a group of men in his mobile pub (33.58).

The last stage of Oliver's Scottish journey is a hunt along with a group of Scottish people (34.17). Oliver says that he wants to hunt his 'own ingredients'. Hunters shoot at birds, and their dogs take the game back to them (34.49). Oliver helps them by waving a yellow flag to make the birds fly and to shoot them more easily (35.00). He never shoots, but he says 'I'm a massive game lover' (36.10). Oliver says that England, Wales and Scotland, 'as a whole' (36.14) have the best game and wild food. After the hunt, the programme shows all the dead birds hanging in the rear of a van (36.16).

Oliver extolls the importance of animals and fresh local produce in Scotland, and shows other dead animals, first pigs, then rabbits and other birds, hanging in a room (37.10), saying that also in Italy we may see scenes similar to this. The camera films the animals with clear details, and the programme provides a close-up of the head of a dead rabbit (37.50).

After the hunt, alone in his army truck, Oliver cooks a seared venison loin with Scottish risotto and golden pheasant hash (38.14). He explains that he is preparing an Italian-Scottish risotto (44.02), mixing the traditions of these two countries, adding for example cheddar to the risotto cooked in the Italian way. While he spreads butter on the venison, he also says that olive oil (put on the meat) could fit this recipe (42.13). The final moment of the show is a feast among hunters in which also other people we had seen in the episode participate (44.41).

In conclusion, with images visualising a mix of all the episodes, Oliver says that he loves travelling around this beautiful island, rediscovering classic dishes and finding surprising origins. This is the multicultural food of Britain, coming from the Caribbean, Arabic countries, Yemen, and other places, and this is the food that he wants to create and celebrate.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW WITH THE ITALIAN PRODUCER ETTORE MUSCO

F: Hi Ettore, nice to meet you, First of all, I would like to know more about you. Which is your background?

E: My background is in cinema, I worked with Roberto Faenza and Marco Tullio Giordana, and I also participated in Benigni's *La Vita è Bella*, which won various Academy Awards, the last Italian Oscar... When cinema's budgets shrank, I shifted towards TV.

F.: What did you do on TV?

E.: I'm a director and a producer. I'm a director in social programmes on Rai3, and a producer, which is my real job. I started as a runner and today I'm a producer.

F.: How were you involved in *Ti Ci Porto Io*?

E.: We must go back to another era... The year before the show, I was the producer of another programme produced by Verve Media Production for La7. Verve often produces show for La 7. The programme was *Storie di Grandi Chef* (stories of great chefs).... It was broadcast by La7 D, La7's channel which has more reduced budgets. Each episode focused on a big chef, but also on history and culture. Among the ten episodes, one was dedicated to Vissani. The show was presented by Michela Rocco di Torrepadula, and in the episode with Vissani we noticed that they worked well, there was a stark contrast between the aristocratic slim Michela and the 'rural' Vissani.

So we started thinking about a show presented by Vissani and Rocco together. The first title we created was *La Strana Coppia* (The Odd Couple). Michela Rocco proposed the show to La7 and the idea was appreciated. This show was 'inspired', this is not a secret, by *Spain on the Road Again*, in which the celebrity chef Mario Batali goes around Spain with Gwyneth Paltrow. They mix together cuisine, culture, history and vip guests. Certainly Batali and Paltrow had more important guests than us. They had bigger budgets, we had more reduced budgets, we are Italians... So we started. However, La 7 asked us to record the first episode, and to wait before

recording the others, to understand how to adjust them, in relation to audience's reaction, to see what worked and what did not...

F.: So you recorded the first episode...

E.: ... and after it, one episode each week, while the episodes were broadcast.

F.: What did ratings suggest after the first episodes? What elements of the show did you find more effective than the others?

E.: The car worked well, especially when they were together in it. People liked what they said to each other, their jokes. Also their travelling around Italy worked well, so after the first episodes we reinforced them.

F.: What were the other parts that the audience liked?

E.: Certainly Vissani's cooking. When the other chefs were alone, they did not work well, but when Vissani cooked either alone or along with other chefs, ratings were higher. Vissani and his Italian dishes, the traditional ones...

F.: Were there things that didn't work?

E.: Certainly food producers. When Vissani visited food producers or restaurants without cooking, people did not watch them with the same enthusiasm as when Vissani cooked, alone or with other chefs. Moreover, producers made us similar to *Linea Verde* (a programme of the public TV on which Vissani had a weekly space and met food producers, in a short part of the show). We wanted to do something different.

F.: Vissani here was more important...

E.: Yes, in *Linea Verde* he had just a small role... Here he was one of the two presenters.

F.: How did he approach the show?

E.: He was partly an author of the show. Writers were good, but Vissani knew food and how to show it better than any other. He decided how to set the kitchen in each scene, not only did he decide the ingredients, but also the visual elements. No one was able to contradict him...

F.: And what about the dishes he cooked?

E.: He decided all the dishes, but always connecting them to the place where we were. For example, in Sicily he proposed Sicilian dishes, and he also decided what dishes to cook by talking to the Sicilian chefs that he met before the shooting of the episode. Sometimes he also decided to change or renew the dish of another chef...

F.: This is the format of the show... First, a chef cooks something, and second, Vissani changes, interprets or challenges this dish...

E.: Yes, it is, or while the chef explained he changed, but always respecting other chefs...

F.: Let me know more about the audience, what kind of viewer did you have?

E.: La 7 is a small channel, when they get 3,5% of ratings, they celebrate. We reached that ratings, and they were happy. We had a family audience, a home audience, generally speaking, but I cannot say more...

F.: Did you want to show Italian history, Italian culture?

E.: Yes, definitely. Michela Rocco highlighted this part, they visited sights, monuments...

F.: And which part of the show did the audience prefer?

E.: Sometimes audience's interest in culture decreased, we sometimes exaggerated on one argument, we made a too elitist programme. We must not forget that La7, which today is different, at that time had a cultural approach. I don't want to say...

F.: Say...

E.: Many programmes have been closed down, with the pretext of budgets, but actually they didn't cost so much... *La Valigia dei Sogni*, which I worked on, was closed down, it was really a beautiful programme..... They were closed down because they were considered too elitist. And today they broadcast... *Miss Italia*, just yesterday! I didn't watch it, I have never watched it, and I cannot watch it broadcast by La7. I think that many things are changing... They want to underline this change, and step by step they are becoming a commercial TV, even though Santoro goes on...

F.: But what did La7 ask you about *Ti Ci Porto Io*?

E.: They asked us to make a cultural programme with high ratings.

F.: What did they tell you? Insist on cooking? Insist on culture?

E.: They wanted us to insist on Vissani. And they advised us to cook more dishes. We started with less dishes, but they told us to do it more... Italian, traditional dishes...

F.: Perhaps for La7 executives, this was a different programme... They were used to cultural programmes, this was different...

E.: Certainly...

F.: Many La7 shows, in those days, were openly anti-Berlusconian...

E.: Certainly, this was entertainment, it was different! Usually they broadcast these light shows on La 7D, the satellite channel, with much lower budgets... There were

cooking programmes there, but smaller... with radio deejays. This was broadcast on La7, it was an exception...

F.: The willingness to wide their audience...

E.: Yes, the willingness to wide their audience but non forgetting quality. In fact the cultural side was always stressed, see Sicily, for example, and castles in Lazio.

F.: Did they try to sell this show abroad?

E.: No, they didn't.

F.: There is a big difference between Italy and Britain, about this. Jamie Oliver sells his programmes everywhere, also in countries in which English is not the first language... *Ti Ci Porto Io* should be interesting for foreign producers. It is on Italy, Italian food, Italian monuments, and all of this is well-known in many countries...

E.: I know many producers abroad. They are willing to come here, they work with Italian production companies, but they want to decide the format. They don't like Italian programmes already made. They want to hold the right to decide how to shoot the show, they want to have their directors in our location...

F.: Why this? Don't they like the Italian way of shooting?

E.: We often copy their formats, but their 40 minutes become 2 hours in Italy.

F.: This is a matter of money...

E.: Yes. The problem is the format. Italian formats last two hours, they have no market abroad.

F.: Because if the format lasts more time, it costs less...

E.: Yes, certainly. Even though our editing was dynamic, with four cameras... but it lasts too much... almost two hours...

F.: What about the cartooned car on the map that explained the road from a town to another?

E.: It aimed to suggest the road, but ironically, like in a cartoon. Fiat 500 was like a Disney car. But it suggested we are going from there to there...

F.: Did you have feedback from people encouraged to travel around Italy thanks to this show?

E.: Yes, I have not data, but many members of the audience wrote us, to say 'thank you, we went there or there' Verrazzano castle, for example. Italy is a great country... In Verrazzano there is a bed and breakfast inside the castle, and we met a young american couple. He was a marine from Missouri, he had gone to Afghanistan. After a particularly stressing period in Afghanistan, he was allowed to take a leave. His bosses told him: go wherever you want and your wife will join you. He chose Italy, and his wife joined him in Verrazzano.

F.: What forms of feedback did you receive apart from this example?

E.: Dishes... Many people experienced the same preparations we showed.

F.: When the show was presented in a press conference, you said: we will go to all the Italian regions. But actually, this didn't happen... Why?

E.: Yes, this is true.

F.: Sardinia, Basilicata, Calabria and other regions were excluded. What happened?

E.: We wanted to go to each region, but we devoted two episodes to Sicily, Tuscany,

Lazio... We went in these regions and we found too many things, especially cultural and historical elements. We should have had more money... We saved money by going to Sicily and shooting two episodes there...

F.: And some episodes were repeated. Why did it happen?

E.: Economic reasons.....

F.: Was the programme tested before the first episode?

E.: Never...

F.: Tell me other things about La7, what did they suggest?

E.: La 7 stressed rates and dishes. They told us to increase the number of Vissani's recipes and to insist on filming the two presenters together. Sometimes the two presenters asked us to be independent of each other, but when they were together, they worked better in terms of ratings. Therefore La7 told us to keep them together as often as possible. Too much Vissani would have meant a cooking show, too much Rocco would have meant an aristocratic show...

F.: You worked with Vissani for many months, what can you say about him?

E.: I went to the Fifty Best in London, I know many celebrity chefs. I believe that Vissani at that time was a great chef. In many cases, celebrity chefs devote too much time to TV, and this weakens their culinary skills. Vissani was a chef, not a celebrity chef... at least in this sense... He is a genius, he can prepare a dish with only three ingredients. He is a great chef, and now he also works on TV. Today, after this show, he has changed. Answering if today he is a chef or a celebrity chef is an answer of one million dollars.

F.: One of the critiques on celebrity chefs is that they are not as good at cooking as they are good at presenting...

E.: Vissani is different, he starts as a chef. I was at his restaurant, he is great. He has good relationships with all the people working in the kitchen.

F.: Is this an Italian characteristic? We don't have celebrity chefs as in Britain... We don't have entertainers...

E.: We have Vissani, but also Cracco, Oldani...

F.: But they are chefs, while Oliver started on TV...

E.: Yes, they are chefs, international chefs... Sometimes they work on TV, and they present shows...

F.: Perhaps a celebrity chef as in Britain is Simone Rugiati, a handsome boy, who started on TV, actually...

E.: Yes, exactly, he is more like the British ones...

F.: Let me know something about the Fiat 500. Was Fiat involved in the project?

E.: Yes, certainly. At the beginning we wanted to choose the old Volkswagen van, then the modern version of it. After this, we thought of a topless Fiat 500. Vissani is 1,90 meters tall, Rocco is 1,80, and inside a Fiat 500 they were so funny! So I contacted Fiat, and told them that Fiat 500 would be one of the three main characters of the show. Fiat gave us all the cars and vans for producing the show for six months. In the old good times, companies paid for being on a show, but today they just give the show their products...

F.: Were there other forms of product placement?

E.: Yes, there were. Clothes for both presenters, Prada for him, many sponsors for her, and cameras from Canon.

F.: On food?

E.: Not officially. Sometimes people opened the doors of their companies, they gave us as a present products such as oil, but there was not a planned product placement on food.

F.: Did you receive feedback from the chefs you visited? Did they increase their business after the show?

E.: They were happy with the show, many restaurateurs became more well-known, we wanted to write a guide about them, but in the end we didn't do it.

F.: Why?

E.: It's difficult... It takes too much time... and we couldn't say 'avoid this restaurant' for commercial reasons. They helped us make the show, it would have been inconceivable.

F.: Have you ever gone to a restaurant in which food was not so good?

E.: Ahhh... No, never... We chose them because Vissani or we knew them. One of us went around before the show to test them...

F.: In the episode set in Rome you have shown ethnic food, at both the restaurant and the market...

E.: Yes, in Rome, because we wanted a new way of showing Rome. We also went to traditional restaurants, but also kosher, as with the Jewish family. Apart from this, today in Rome there is a big oriental community, so we went to the Chinese restaurant...

F.: With some irony... I saw the scene of the chopsticks...

E.: Yes, also joking... In Sicily we showed couscous, which is an Arab dish... We went close to Austria borders, we went there...

F.: Did you receive feedback from the audience on it? I ask this because Oliver's show is full of scenes on ethnic food...

E.: Yes, I know...

F.: Here, instead, the focus is the Italian cuisine. How did the audience react? In Italy there are many prejudices about the Chinese cuisine...

E.: I know, I know... I studied abroad for many years... Italian cuisine is one of the most popular cuisines abroad. Everyone copies us, our system... our dishes... I know, along with French cuisine... Italian people, as consumers, but also as TV members of audience, have always had... doubts... about cuisines from abroad... On TV, if you show ethnic food shortly, it could also work, but not more than this. Representing it means that we are neglecting Italian chefs... not only Italian regions. I can give you the list of the chef we neglected... They are so many...

F.: With what motivation did you jump some regions?

E.: We neglected the smaller regions... At the beginning we wanted to put together two small regions in one episode, but as I said earlier, economic reasons... It was a painful choice...

F.: What image of Italy did come out of this show?

E.: Our strongest aspect, we should work on it. We come out as winners, from this programme we come out as winners, really! Unfortunately, in other fields we are not winners, but here... In gastronomy and culture we come out as winners. Italian food is internationally recognised as the best food in the world...

F.: So this programme gave a positive representation of Italy...

E.: Yes, certainly. If I was able to choose, I would sell this show abroad. I would do it as we do with programmes from abroad, leaving the original sound and writing or dubbing the translation...

F.: If anyone coming from abroad watched this show, what idea of Italy would the show give them?

E.: If they have a good background, they would confirm his ideas on Italy. It's not a stereotype, it is high gastronomy, products sold all over the world. Eataly, the chain, is going on, in New York they have more clients than in Rome. I went to the concert of the Manhattan Transfer in Rome, and the singer, at the beginning of the concert, said: I'm coming from New York, where I went to Eataly... I know Eataly PR professionals, and I called them from the concert, asking if they had paid the singer of the Manhattan Transfer to say so, and they told me 'we don't know him'... Sometimes we are not aware of how much popular our food is around the world... we should do more...

F.: And what about your idea of Italy?

E.: I have seen new places, I like to go around, while I don't like to work in a studio... I didn't know that Civita di Bagnoregio, a small village, is famous in Japan, because it is the set of a Japanese cartoon. It is a poor village, ... I know that we have centuries of history. We must not become American, now there is the fast food culture, and we want it in Italy. This is a big mistake, we are losing our identity! We should copy the Americans in other fields, such as industry... but not food...

F.: Sometimes people say that food on TV is exclusive, celebrity chefs promote unreachable food... That Nigella and Ramsey cook food that normal people cannot afford...

E.: Because these shows promote big restaurants... while we promoted poor cuisine, not expensive, in fact everyone can afford it. Some dishes were more exclusive, but the majority of them were not expensive.

F. Thank you very much, Ettore

E.: Oh, you are welcome...

